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TOP SECRET//NOFORN

U.S. FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE

shown. SURVEIL! ANCE COURT UNITED STATES Classify By: J23J98T32 2016 OCT FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SURVEILLANCE COURT Reason: (C) b1-1 Derived From: FBI NSICG, dated 10b3-1 CLERK OF COURT Declassify On: WASHINGTON, D.C. b7A-1 (S) IN RE CARTER W. PAGE, A U.S. Docket Number: b1-1 PERSON. b3-1 b7A-1 (U) VERIFIED APPLICATION (S) The United States of America hereby applies to this Court for authority to conduct as described herein, pursuant b1-1 to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, Title 50, United b3-1 b7A-1 States Code (U.S.C.), §§ (FISA or the Act). b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 (U) Identity of Federal Officer Making Application This application is made by a Supervisory Special Agent (SSA) of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) whose official duties at FBI Headquarters include b1-1 b3-1 b6-1 supervision of the FBI's investigation of the above-captioned target based upon b7A-1 b7C-1 information officially furnished to b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 **TOP SECRET//NOFORN** Classified by: b1-1 Derived from: b3-1

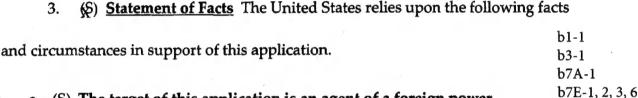
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OI Tracking No. 143045

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2. **(S)** Identity of the Target The target of this application is Carter W.

Page, a U.S. person, and an agent of a foreign power, described in detail below. The b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6



- a. (§) The target of this application is an agent of a foreign power.
- (S) The following describes the foreign power and sets forth in detail a description of the target and the target's activities for or on behalf of this foreign power.
- (U) (S) The Government of the Russian Federation is a foreign power as defined by 50 U.S.C. § 1801(a)(1).
- (X) The Government of the Russian Federation (Russia) is an internationally recognized foreign government and, as of the execution of this application, is listed in the <u>Diplomatic List</u>, published by the United States Department of State, and in <u>Permanent Missions to the United Nations</u>, published by the United Nations, and its establishments in the United States are components thereof.

(S) Clandestine Intelligence Activities Of The Russian Federation **(S**) b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1,2 b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1,2

	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2
(U) (S) Carter W. Page knowingly engage in	b3-1 b7A-1 b7E- 1, 2
clandestine intelligence activities (other than intelligence gathering activities) for	
or on behalf of such foreign power, which activities involve or are about to	
involve a violation of the criminal statutes of the United States, or knowingly	
conspires with other persons to engage in such activities and, therefore, is an	
agent of a foreign power as defined by 50 U.S.C. § 1801(b)(2)(E).	
(SXIXIX) This application targets Carter Page. The FBI believes Page has been	
the subject of targeted recruitment by the Russian Government	
	b1-1
undermine and influence the outcome of the 2016 U.S. Presidential election in	53-1 56-2 57A-1
violation of I S. criminal law. Page is a former foreign malier advisor to	o7C-2 o7E-1, 2, 3, 6
Candidate for U.S. President (Candidate #1).	

	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2
I. (U) (%/ME) RIS Efforts to Influence U.S. Presidential Elections.	
(SANK) During a recent interview with an identified news organization, the	
Director of National Intelligence (DNI) stated, "Russia has tried to influence U.S.	
elections since the 1960s during the Cold War" and "there's a tradition in Russia of	
interfering with elections, their own and others." The DNI commented that this	
influence included providing money to particular candidates or providing	
disinformation. The DNI added that "it shouldn't come as a big shock to people,	
I think it's more dramatic maybe because they have the cyber tools that they can	
bring to bear in the same effort."	b1-1 b3-1
	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2

	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2
	, ,
(SANK) In or about July 2016, WikiLeaks released a trove of e-mails from the	ı.
Democratic National Committee (DNC). ¹	
	b1-1
	b3-1 b7A-1
There has been speculation in U.S. media that the Russian Government was	b7E- 1, 2,
behind the hack. Russia has publicly denied any involvement in the hack. Russian	
President Vladimir Putin said in or about September 2016 that Russia was not	
responsible for the hack, but said that the release of the DNC documents was a net	
positive: "The important thing is the content that was given to the public." Despite	
Russia's denial,	b1-1
	b3-1
	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3
1 (SWAN): According to information on its website, WikiLeaks is a multi- ational media organization and associated library. WikiLeaks specializes in the nalysis and publication of large datasets of censored or otherwise restricted official	
naterials involving war, spying, and corruption. According to open source aformation, in or about July 2016, WikiLeaks released thousands of e-mails it says the from the accounts of DNC officials.	b1-1 b3-1
and accounts of DIVC officials.	b7A-1
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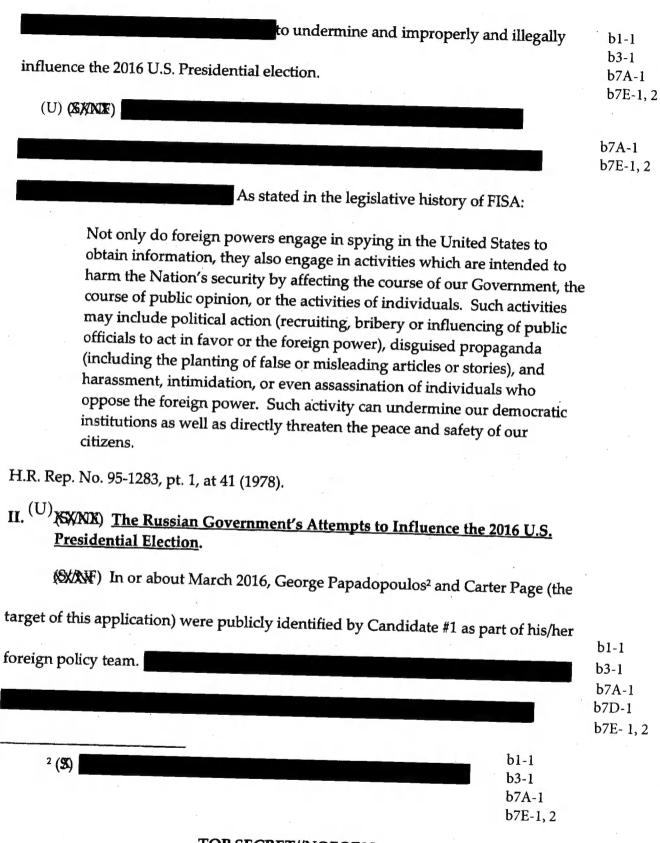
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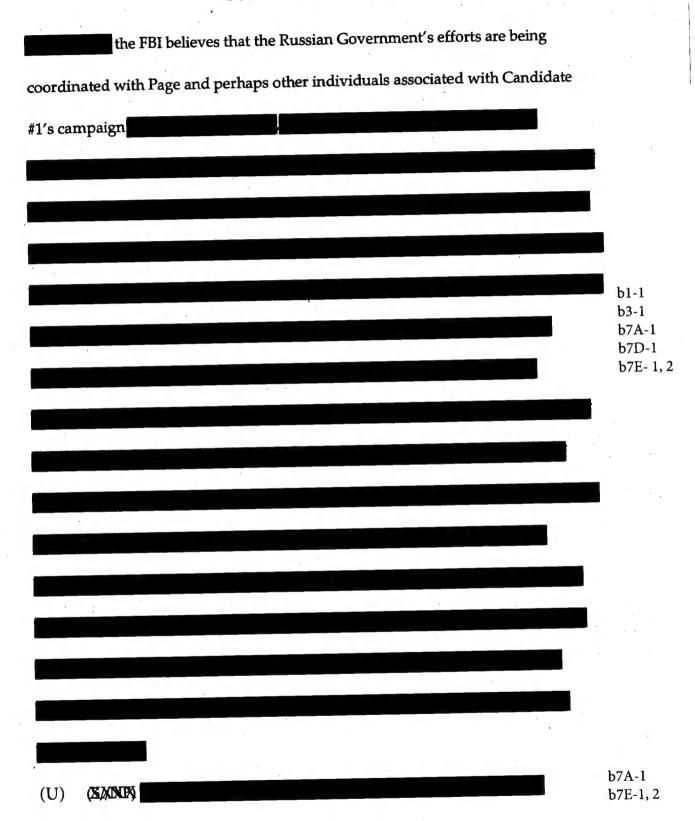
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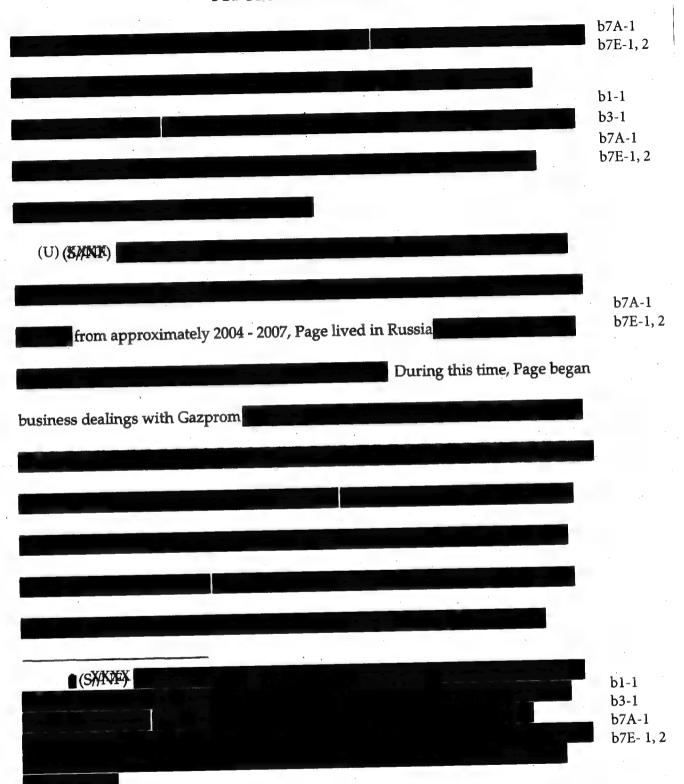
an October 7, 2016 Joint Statement from the Department of Homeland Security and the b7E-1, 2, 3 Office of the Director of National Intelligence on Election Security (Election Security Joint Statement), the USIC is confident that the Russian Government directed the recent compromises of e-mails from U.S. persons and institutions, including from U.S. political organizations. The Election Security Joint Statement states that the recent disclosures of e-mails on, among others, sites like WikiLeaks are consistent with the methods and motivations of Russian-directed efforts. According to the Election Security Joint Statement, these thefts and disclosures are intended to interfere with the U.S. election process; activity that is not new to Moscow - the Russians have used similar tactics and techniques across Europe and Eurasia, for example, to influence public opinion there. The Election Security Joint Statement states that, based on the scope and sensitivity of these efforts, only Russia's senior-most officials could have authorized these activities.

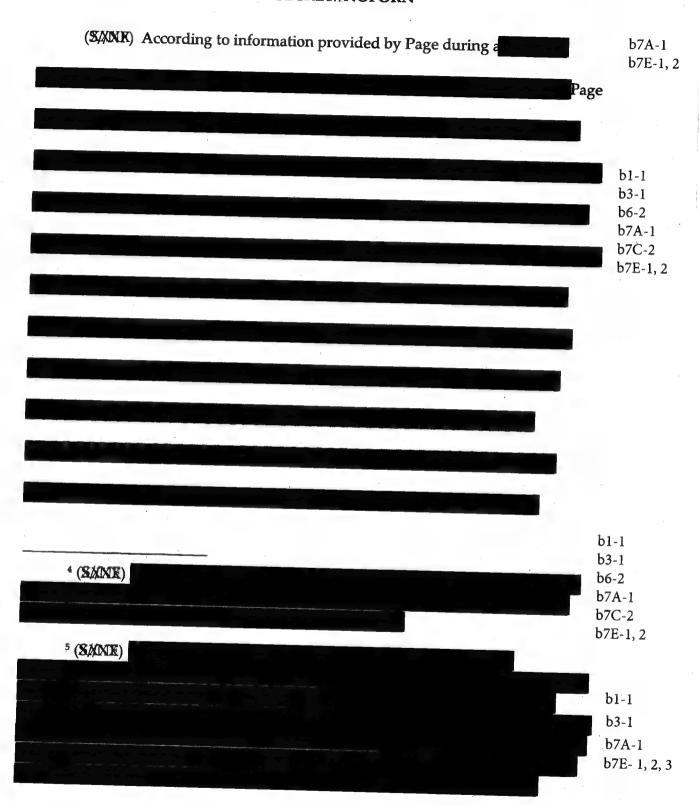
(SMNE) Based on the Russian Government's historical efforts to influence and U.S. elections, the information discussed herein regarding Russia's coordination with Carter Page b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2

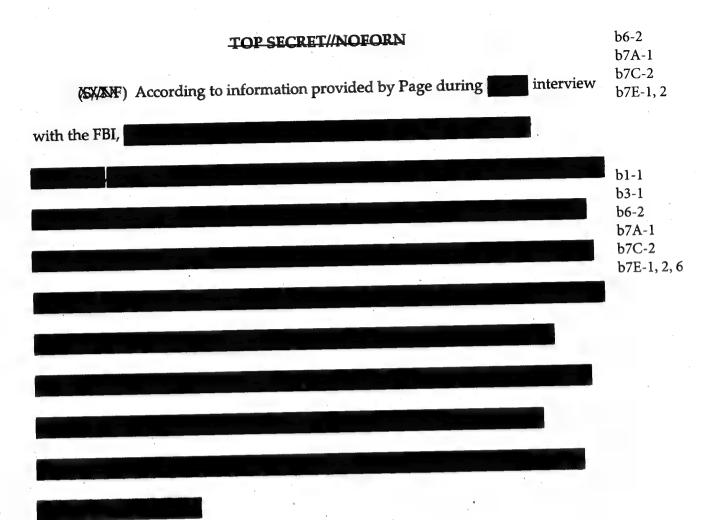




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As discussed below, Page has established relationships with Russian	b7E- 1, 2
Government officials, including Russian intelligence officers,	-
III.(U)(S) Carter Page.	
(U) A. (S) Page's Connections to Russia and the RIS.	
(SXXXX) Page, a U.S. citizen, is the founder and managing partner of Global	
Energy Capital LLC (GEC), an investment management and advisory firm that	
ocuses on the energy sector primarily in emerging markets.	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2
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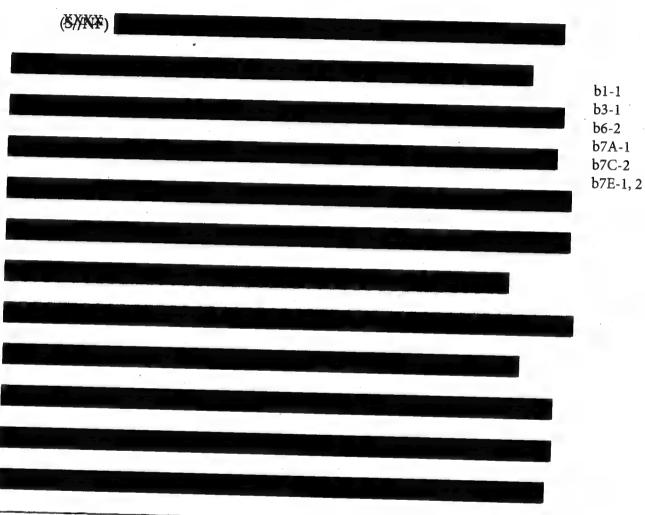




and Igor Sporyshev, were charged by a sealed complaint in the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York for violations of 18 U.S.C. §§ 371 and 951 (conspiring to act, and acting as, an unregistered agent of a foreign government).

According to the complaint, Buryakov worked in the United States as an agent of the SVR. Specifically, Buryakov operated under non-official cover, posing as an employee in the Manhattan office of Russian bank. Buryakov worked with two other SVR agents, Podobnyy and Sporyshev, to gather intelligence on behalf of

Russia.⁶ The complaint states that the intelligence gathering efforts of Podobnyy and Sporyshev included, among other things, attempting to recruit New York City residents as intelligence sources for Russia.



⁽U) SYNCEX Buryakov was arrested in or about January 2015. At the time of Buryakov's arrest, Podobnyy and Sporyshev no longer lived in the United States and were not arrested. In or about March 2016, Buryakov pled guilty to conspiring to act in the United States as an agent of Russia, without providing prior notice to the Attorney General. In or about May 2016, Buryakov was sentenced to 30 months in prison.

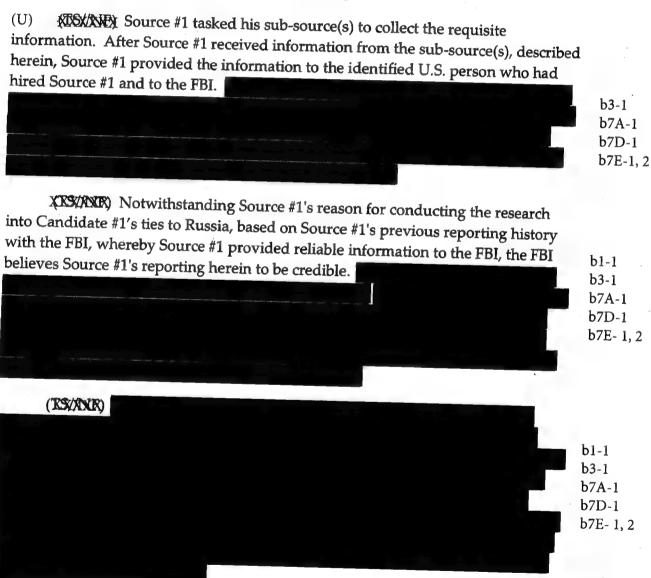
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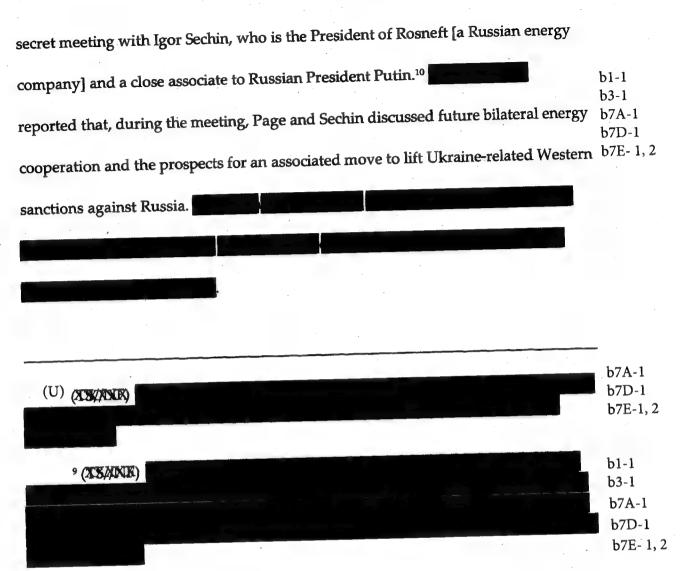
XXXXXX) According to open source information, in July 2016, Page traveled to

Russia and delivered the commencement address at the New Economic School. ⁷ In	b1-1 b3-1
addition to giving this address, the FBI has learned that Page met with at least two	b7A-1 b7D-1
Russian officials during this trip. First, according to information provided by an FBI	b7E- 1, 2
confidential human source (Source #1),8	
(U) ? (SANK)	b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 4
and has been an FBI source since Source #1's reporting has been corroborated and used in criminal proceedings and the FBI assesses Source #1 to be reliable. Source #1 has been compensated by the FBI and the FBI is unaware of any derogatory information pertaining to Source #1.	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E- 1, 2, 5

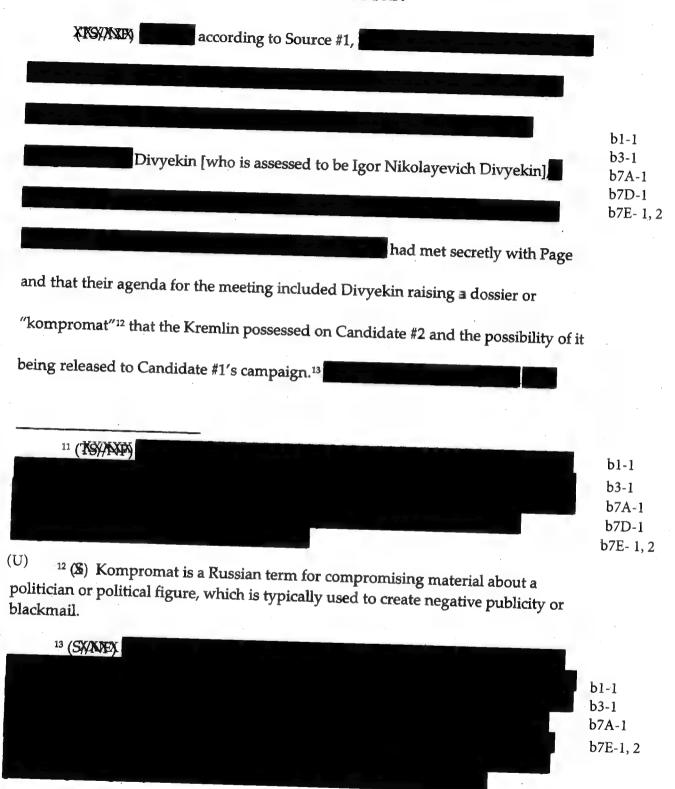
(TSX/ANE) Source #1, who now owns a foreign business/financial intelligence firm, was approached by an identified U.S. person, who indicated to Source #1 that a

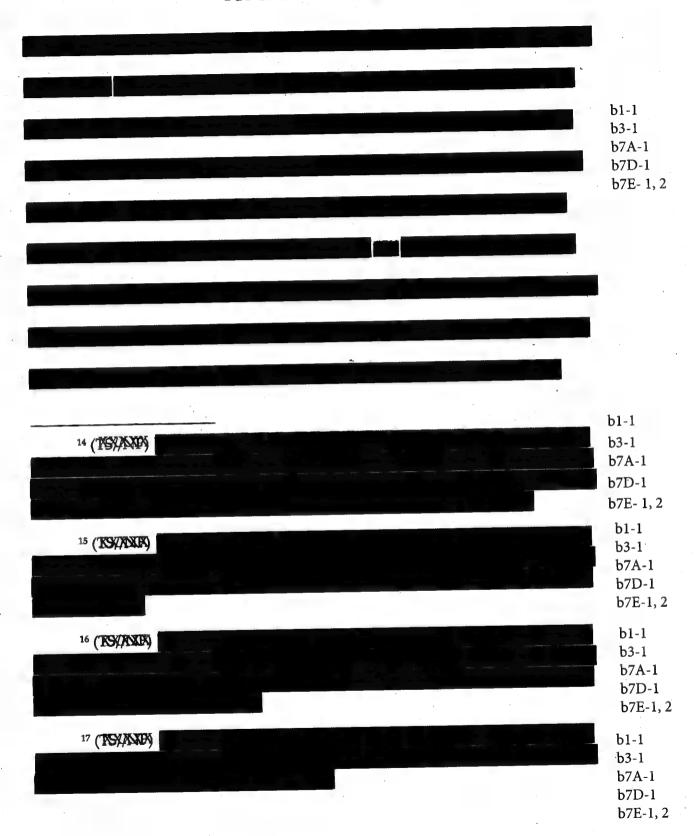
U.S.-based law firm had hired the identified U.S. person to conduct research regarding Candidate #1's ties to Russia (the identified U.S. person and Source #1 have ■ long-standing business relationship). The identified U.S. person hired Source #1 to conduct this research. The identified U.S. person never advised Source #1 as to the motivation behind the research into Candidate #1's ties to Russia. The FBI speculates that the identified U.S. person was likely looking for information that could be used to discredit Candidate #1's campaign.

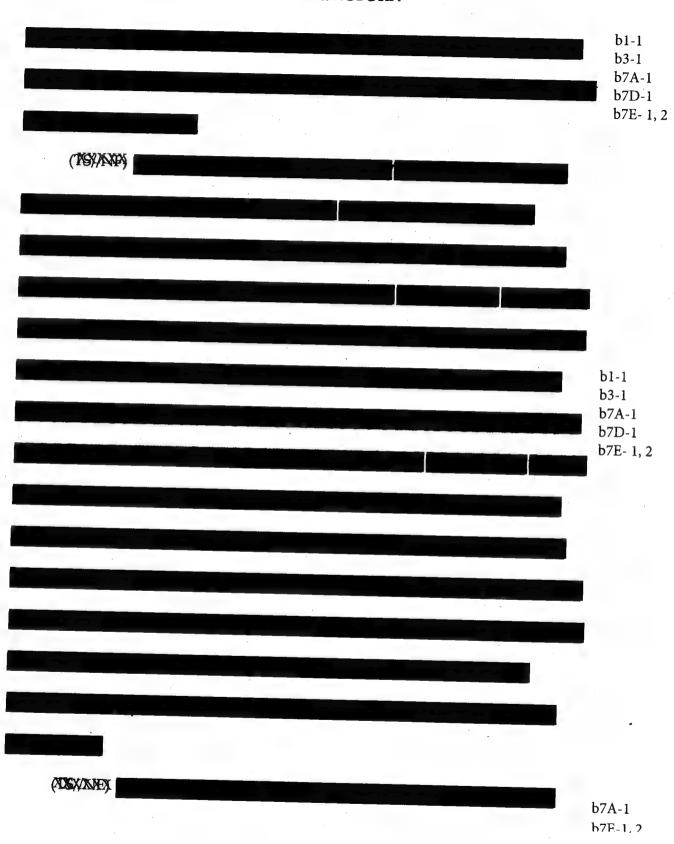




(USDOT) announced sanctions that would be taken against Russian Government officials and entities as a result of Russian efforts to destabilize Ukraine. Sechin was identified as an official of the Russian Government, and further identified as the President and Chairman of the Management Board for Rosneft, a position he continues to hold. The USDOT announcement also stated Sechin was formerly the Deputy Prime Minister of the Russian Federation from 2008 until 2012, and from 2004 until 2008, Sechin was the Deputy Chief of Staff for Russian President Putin. The USDOT sanctions announcement identified Sechin as someone who has "shown utter loyalty to Vladimir Putin – a key component to his current standing."







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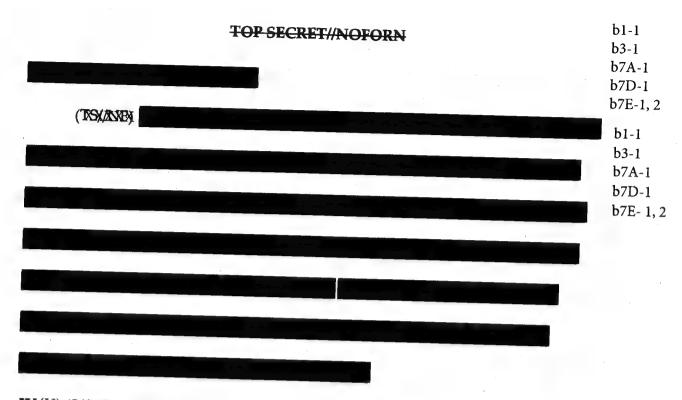
a July 2016 article in an identified news organization reported that Candidate #1's campaign worked behind the scenes to make sure Political Party #1's platform would not call for giving weapons to Ukraine to fight Russian and rebel forces, contradicting the view of almost all Political Party #1's foreign policy leaders in Washington. The article stated that Candidate #1's campaign sought "to make sure that [Political Party #1] would not pledge to give Ukraine the weapons it has been asking for from the United States." Further, an August 2016 article published by an identified news organization characterized Candidate #1 as sounding like a supporter of Ukraine's territorial integrity in September [2015], adopted a "milder" tone regarding Russia's annexation of Crimea. The August 2016 article further reported that Candidate #1 said Candidate #1 might recognize Crimea = Russian territory and lift punitive U.S. sanctions against Russia. The article opined that while the reason for Candidate #1's shift was not clear, Candidate #1's more conciliatory words, which contradict Political Party #1's official platform, follow Candidate #1's recent association with several people sympathetic to Russian influence in Ukraine, including foreign policy advisor Carter Page.

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IV.(U) (SWAX) Page's Denial of Cooperation with the Russian Government.

(U) (SANK) On or about September 23, 2016, an identified news organization published an article (September 23rd News Article), which was written by the news organization's Chief Investigative Correspondent, alleging that U.S. intelligence officials are investigating Page with respect to suspected efforts by the Russian Government to influence the U.S. Presidential election. According to the September 23rd News Article, U.S. officials received intelligence reports that when Page was in Moscow in July 2016 to deliver the above-noted commencement address at the New Economic School, he met with two senior Russian officials. The September 23rd News Article stated that a "well-placed Western intelligence source" told the news organization that Page met with Igor Sechin, a longtime Putin associate and former

Russian deputy minister who is now the executive chairman of Rosneft. At their alleged meeting, Sechin raised the issue of the lifting of sanctions with Page.

According to the September 23rd News Article, the Western intelligence source also reported that U.S. intelligence agencies received reports that Page met with another top Putin aide - Igor Divyekin, a former Russian security official who now serves as deputy chief for internal policy and is believed by U.S. officials to have responsibility for intelligence collected by Russian agencies about the U.S. election.

(U) (SWAND): According to the September 23rd News Article, certain members of Congress were "taken aback" after being briefed on the alleged meetings and viewed the meetings as possible back channel to the Russians that could undercut U.S. foreign policy. The September 23rd News Article also stated that, following the briefing, the Senate Minority Leader wrote to the FBI Director, and citing the reports

¹⁸ (S) As discussed above, Source #1 was hired by a business associate to conduct research into Candidate #1's ties to Russia. Source #1 provided the results of his research to the business associate, and the FBI assesses that the business associate likely provided this information to the law firm that hired the business associate in the first place. Source #1 told the FBI that he/she only provided this information to the business associate and the FBI.

The FBI does not believe that Source #1 directly

provided this information to the press.

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of meetings between an advisor to Candidate #1 [the advisor was unnamed in the letter, but the article indicated that the advisor is Page] and "high ranking sanctioned individuals" [in context, likely a reference to Sechin] in Moscow over the summer as evidence of "significant and disturbing ties" between Candidate #1's campaign and the Kremlin that needed to be investigated by the FBI.

(U) (Stands) Based on statements in the September 23rd News Article, as well as in other recent articles published by identified news organizations, Candidate #1's campaign repeatedly has made public statements in an attempt to create the appearance of distance between Page and Candidate #1's campaign. For example, the September 23rd News Article noted that Page's precise role in Candidate #1's campaign is unclear. According to the article, a spokesperson for Candidate #1's campaign called Page an "informal foreign advisor" who "does not speak for [Candidate #1] or the campaign." In addition, another spokesperson for Candidate #1's campaign said that Page "has no role" and added "[w]e are not aware of any of his activities, past or present." However, the article stated that the campaign spokesperson did not respond when asked why Candidate #1 had previously described Page as an advisor. In addition, on or about September 25, 2016, an identified news organization published an article that was based primarily on an interview with Candidate #1's current campaign manager (the September 25th News

Article). During the interview, the campaign manager stated, "[Page is] not part of the campaign I'm running." The campaign manager added that Page is not part of Candidate #1's national security or foreign policy briefings since he/she became campaign manager. In response to question from the interviewer regarding reports that Page has been meeting with Russian officials to essentially attempt to conduct diplomatic negotiations with the Russian Government, the campaign manager responded, "If [Page is] doing that, he's certainly not doing it with the permission or knowledge of the campaign"

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(U) (SANK) On or about September 25, 2016, Page sent a letter to the FBI Director. In this letter, Page made reference to the accusations in the September 23rd News Article and denied them. Page stated that the source of the accusations is nothing more than completely false media reports and that he did not meet this year with any sanctioned official in Russia. Page also stated that he would be willing to

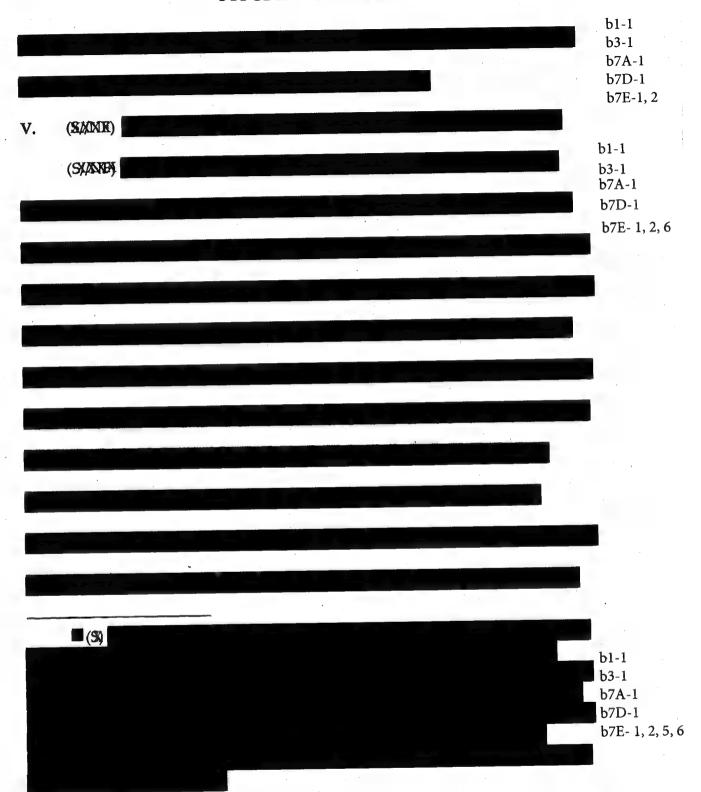
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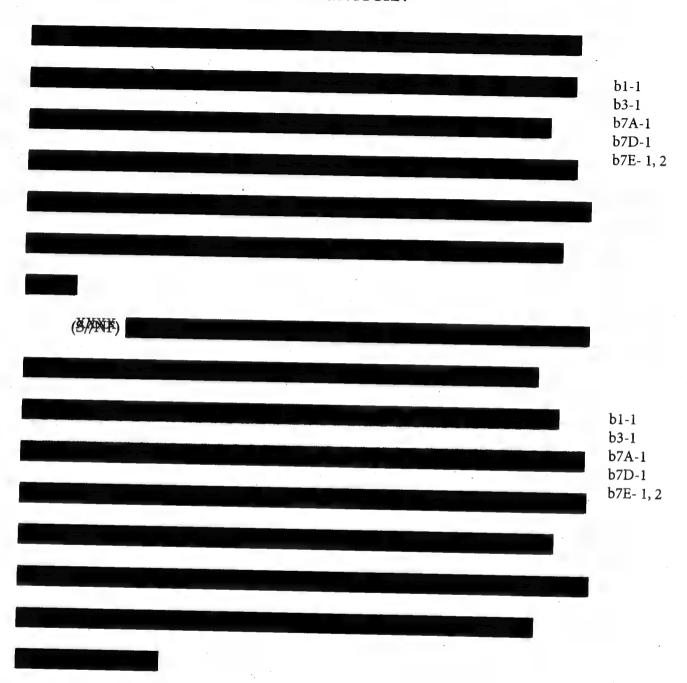
discuss any "final" questions the FBI may have. 19

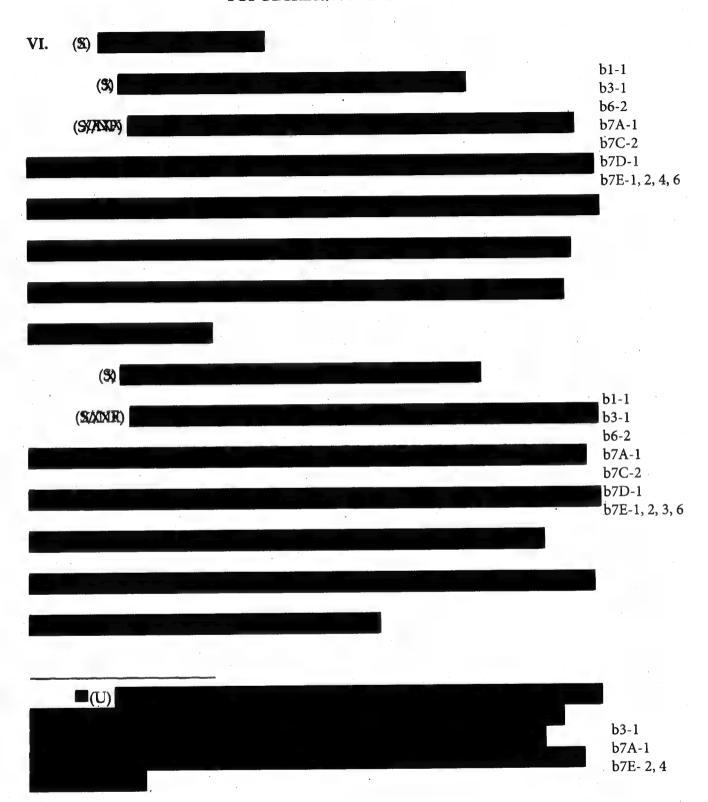
organization published an article that was based on an interview with Page (September 26th News Article). In the September 26th News Article, Page stated that all of the accusations are complete "garbage" and that he did not meet with Sechin or Divyekin. Page also stated that he would be taking leave of absence from his work with Candidate #1's campaign because the accusations are a

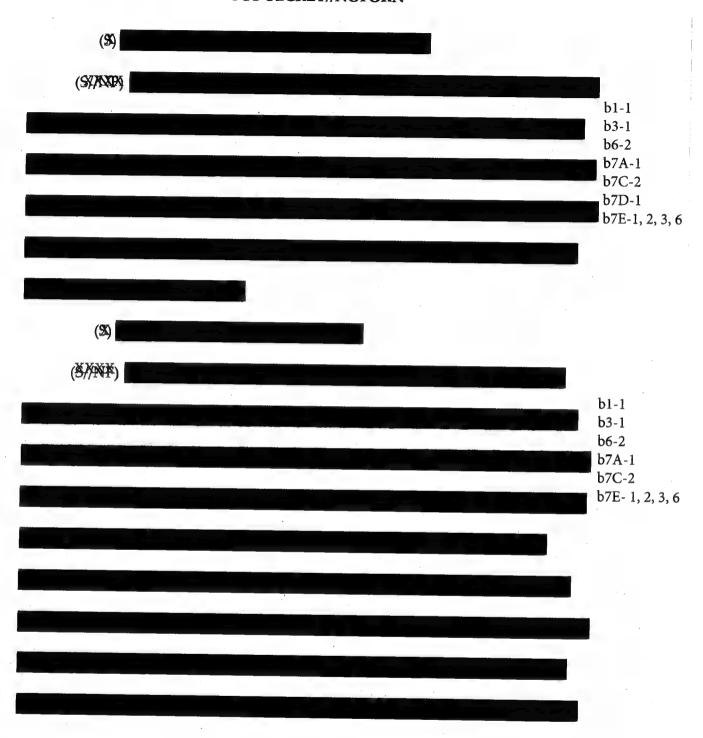


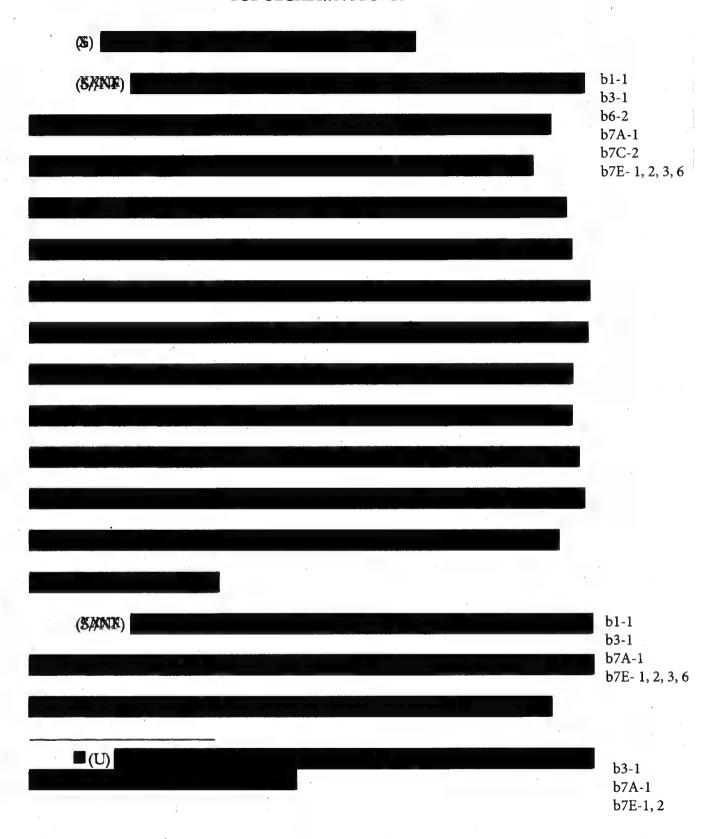


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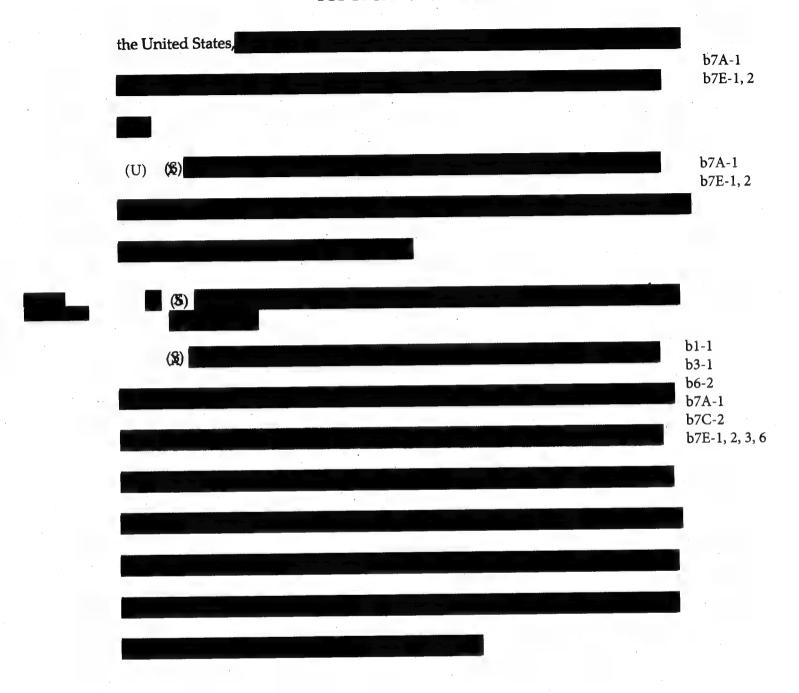


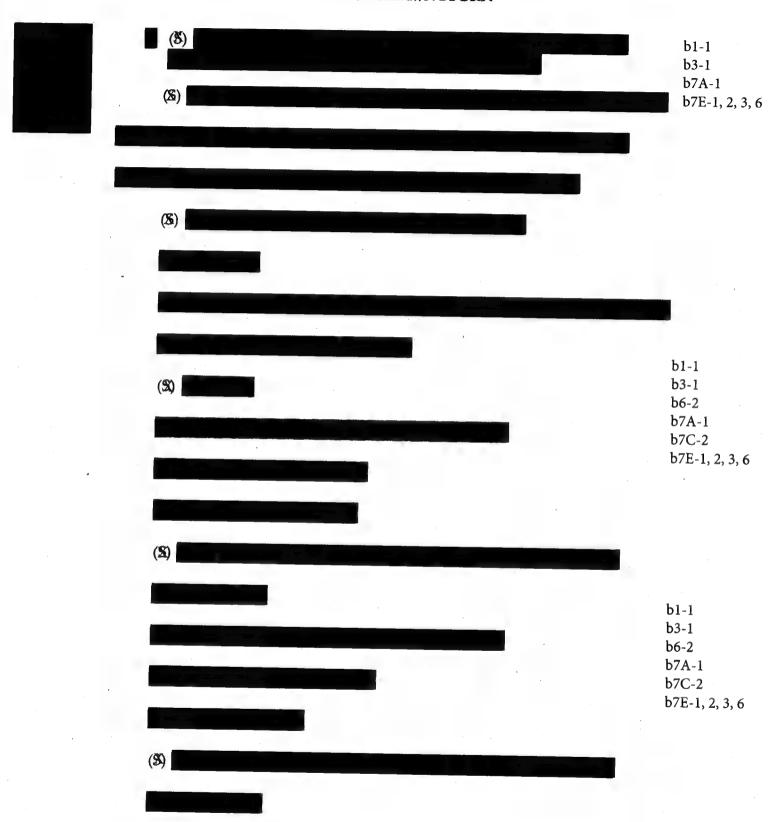




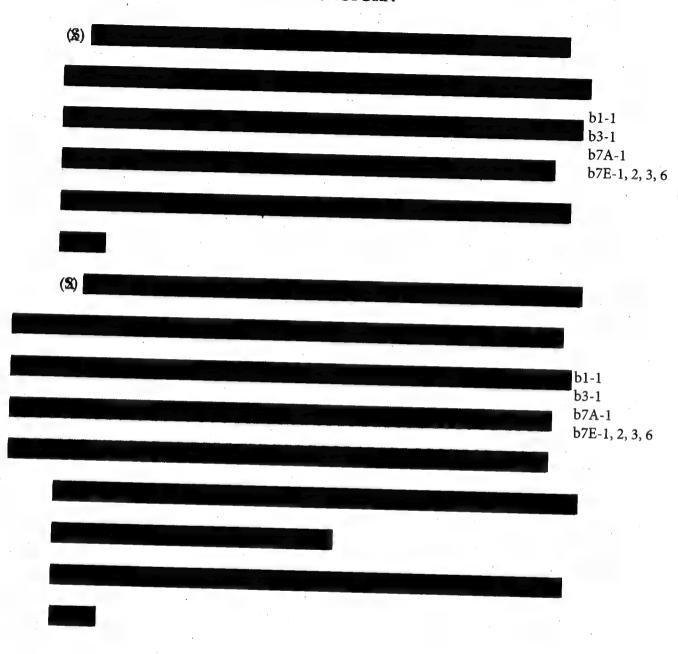


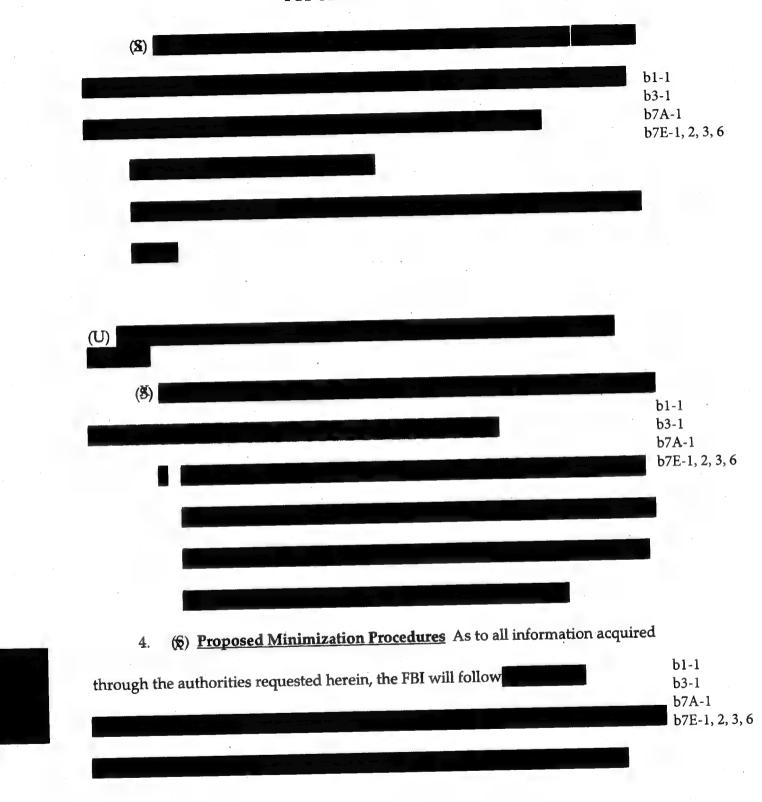
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VII. (U) Conclusion.	,
(U) (SAME). As discussed above, the FBI believes that Page has been collaboration	ng
and conspiring with the Russian Government, Based on t	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2
foregoing facts and circumstances, the FBI submits that there is probable cause to	ne
believe that Page	
knowingly engage in	
clandestine intelligence activities (other than intelligence gathering activities) for o	r .
on behalf of such foreign power, or knowingly conspires with other persons to	
engage in such activities and, therefore, is an agent of a foreign power as defined b	y
50 U.S.C. § 1801(b)(2)(E).	
(U) (SX/NIE)	
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the FBI submits that there is probable cause to believe that	
such activities involve or are about to involve violations of the criminal statutes of	



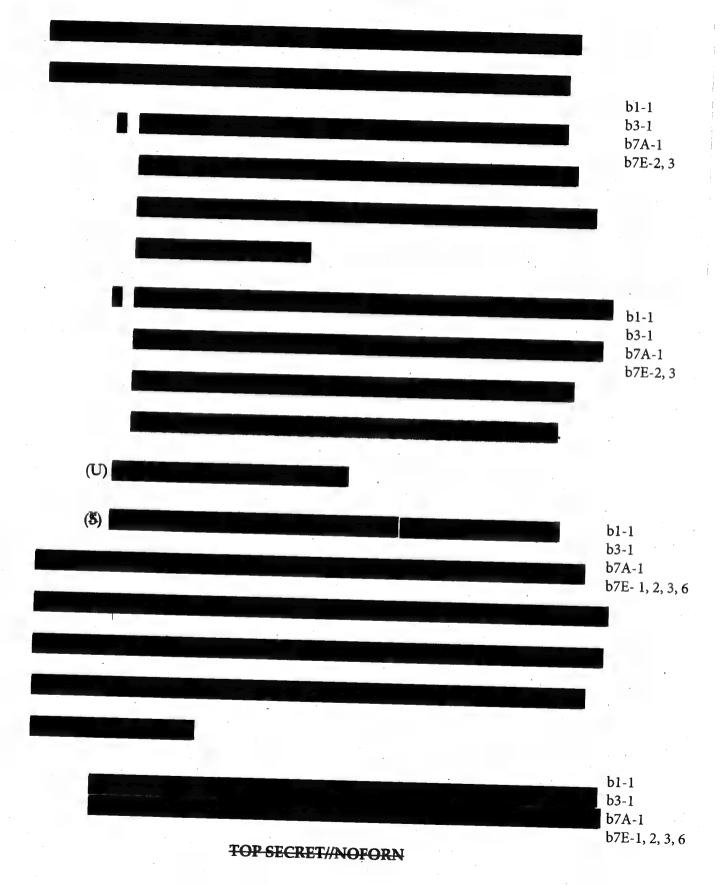


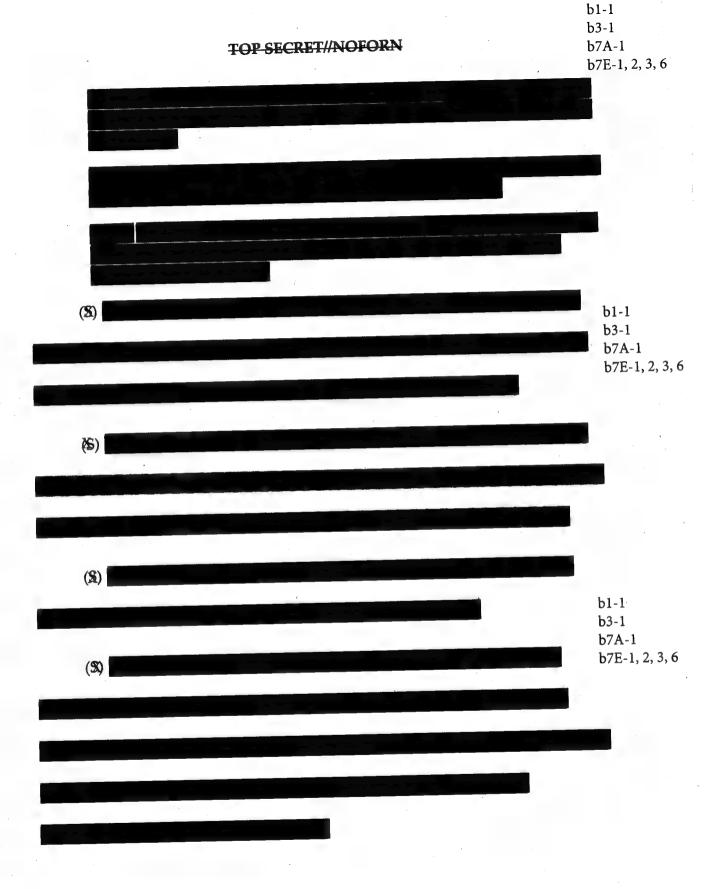
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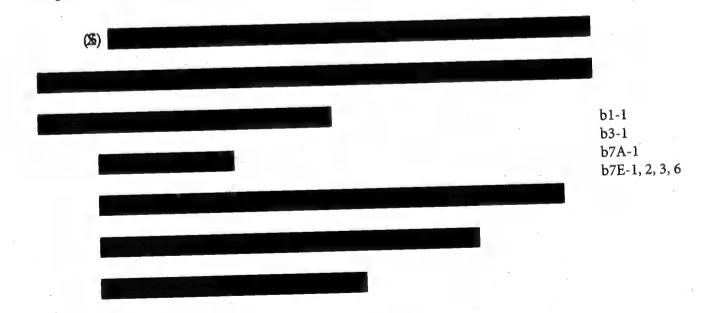


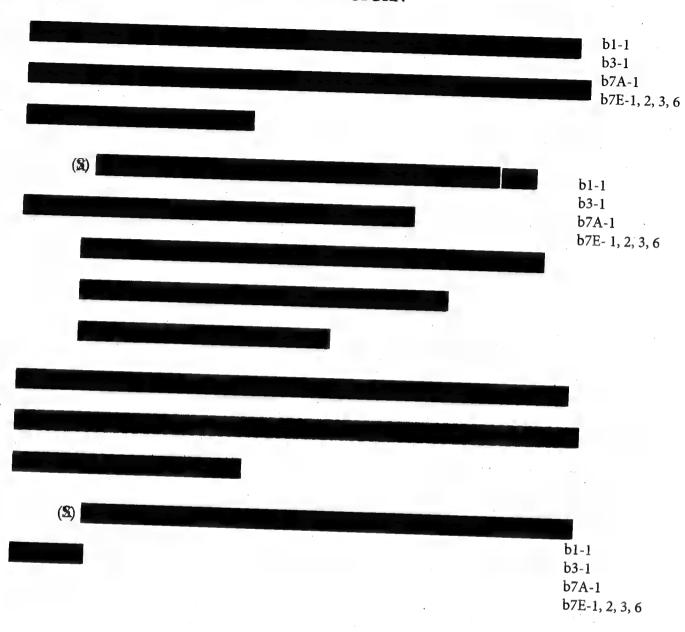
5. (3) Nature of the Information Sought

Through the authorities

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respect to the activities of the target described above and detailed further in the
certification set forth below. As indicated by the facts set forth herein, the FBI is
seeking foreign intelligence information that relates and is necessary to the ability of
the United States to protect against clandestine intelligence activities by an
intelligence service or network of this foreign power or by agents of this foreign
power, and information with respect to a foreign power or foreign territory that
relates and is necessary to the national defense, security, and the conduct of the
foreign affairs of the United States. These same authorities may also incidentally
acquire other foreign intelligence information, as defined by the Act.





6. (S) Certification The certification of the Assistant to the President for

National Security Affairs or an Executive branch official duly designated by the

President as a certifying official in Executive Order Number

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b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

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(U) The Purpose of the Authorities Requested

(\$\frac{\cdot}{\cdot}\$) The FBI's foreign intelligence goals for this investigation are set forth in the certification of the Executive Branch official contained herein. However, the authorities requested in this application may produce information and material which might, when evaluated by prosecutive authorities, constitute evidence of \blacktriangleta violation of United States law, and this investigation may result in an eventual

criminal prosecution of the target. Nevertheless, as discussed in the certification, at least ■ significant purpose of this request for is to collect foreign intelligence information as part of the FBI's investigation of this target. b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

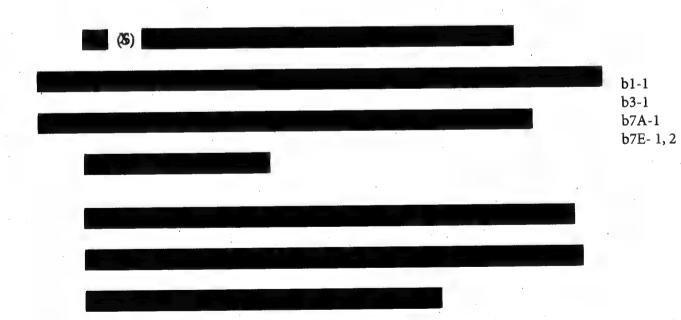
9. (S) Duration of the Authorities Requested (See also,

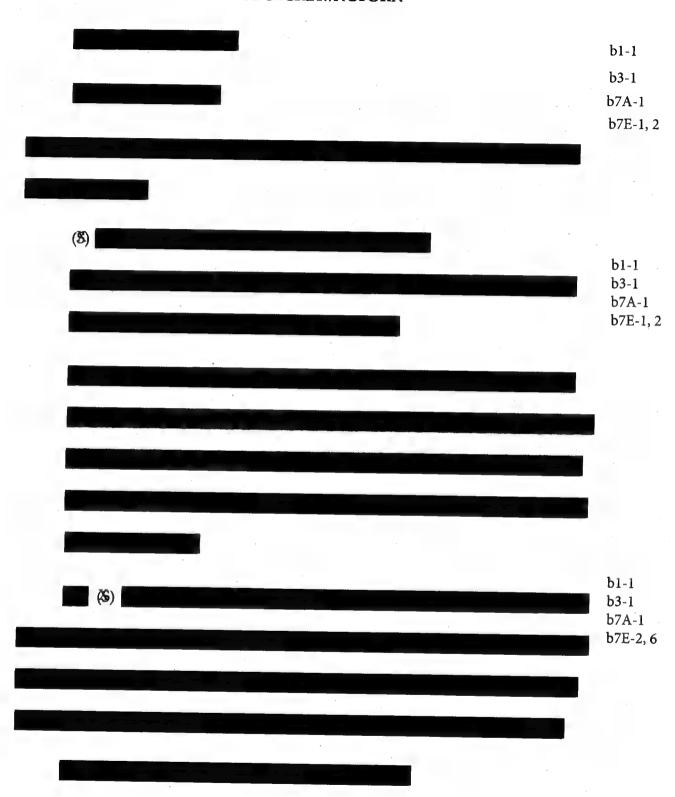
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intelligence information has first been obtained. Additional information of the same
type will be obtained on a continuous basis throughout the entire period requested.

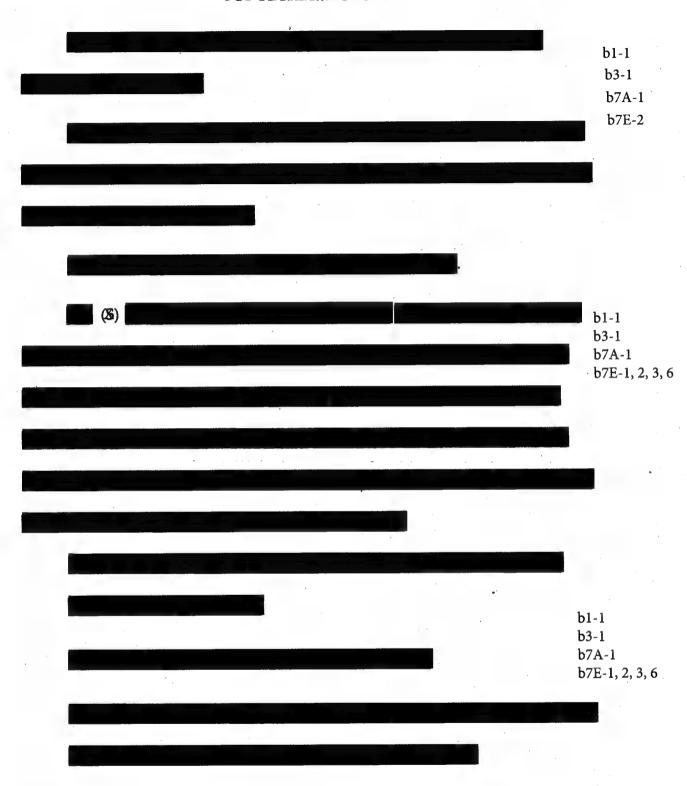
The activities which the United States must identify and monitor are incremental
and continuous, and communications relating to such activities are often disguised
to appear innocuous. The type of foreign intelligence information being sought and
the fact that the activities of this target are ongoing preclude the conclusion that, at a
given time, all such information has been obtained and collection can be ended.

Accordingly, the United States requests the authorities specified herein for a period

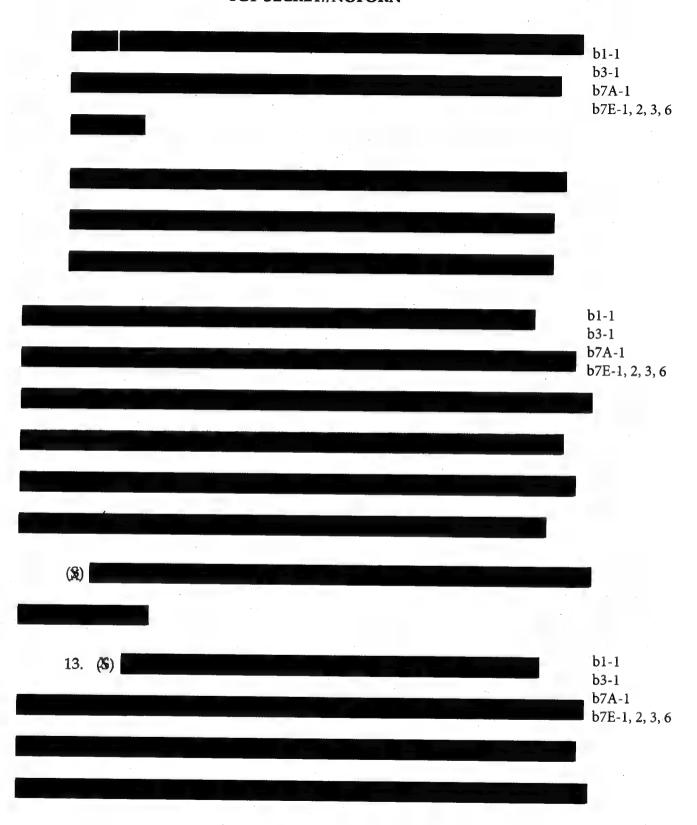
of ninety (90) days.

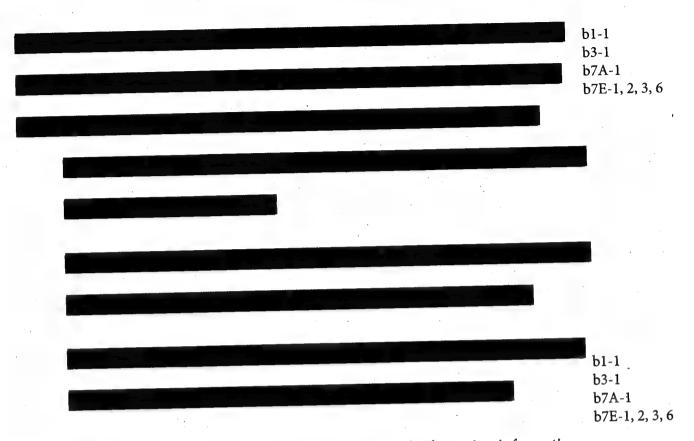




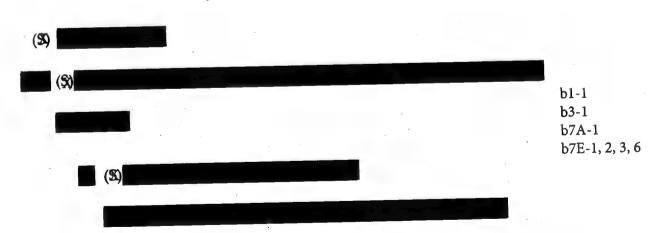


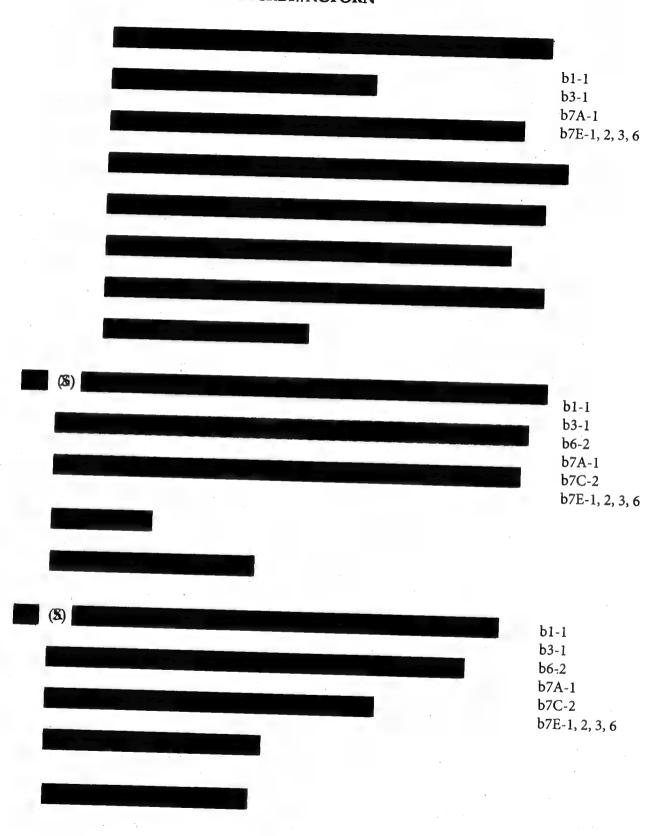
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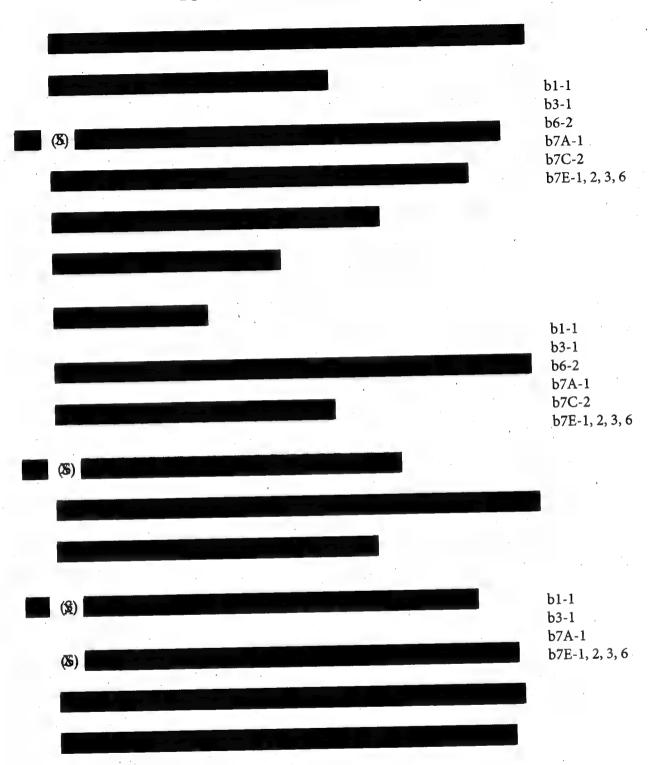


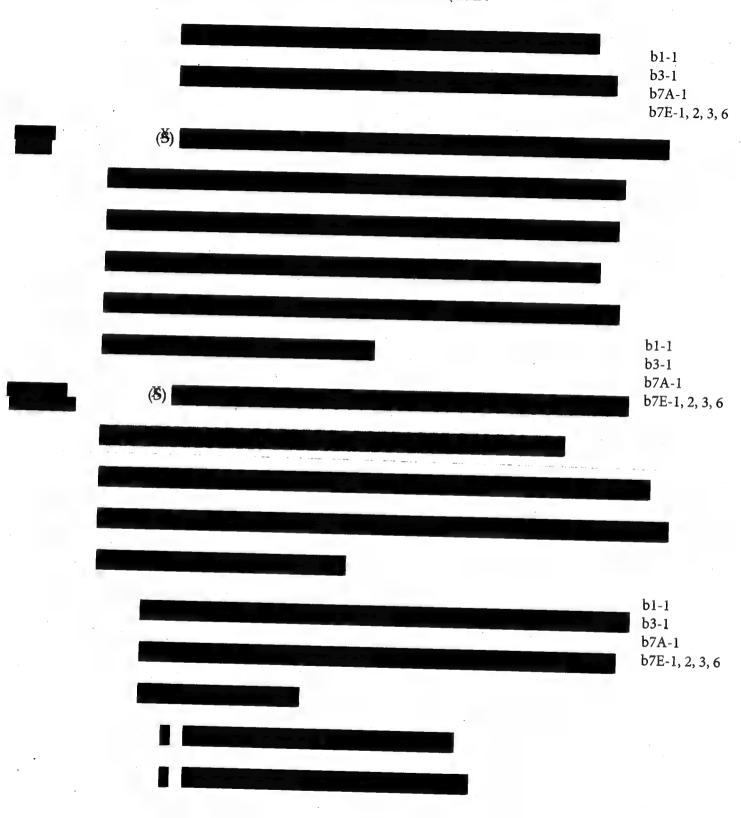


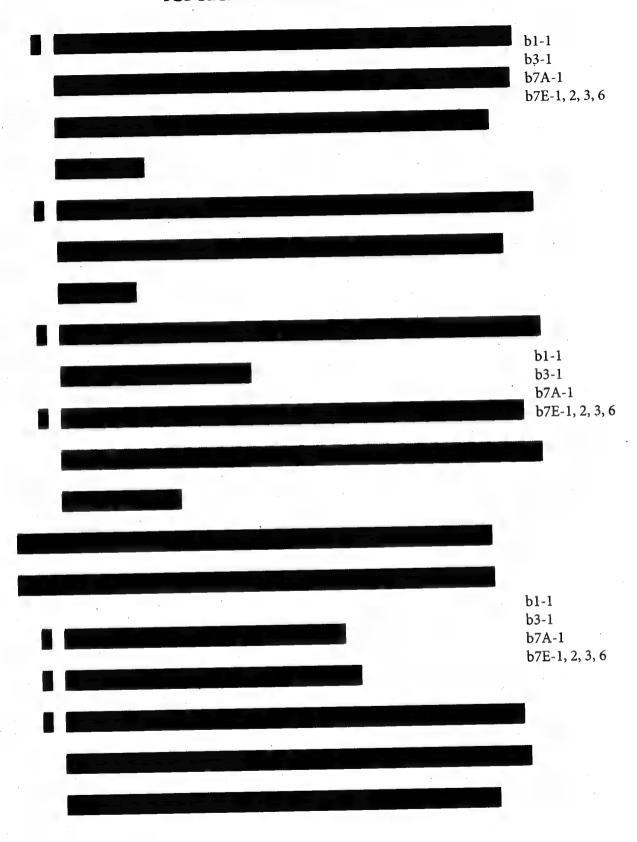
(U)(S) <u>Specific Authorities Requested</u> Based upon the foregoing information, the United States requests that this Court authorize the FBI to conduct the activities described immediately below for the period requested herein.

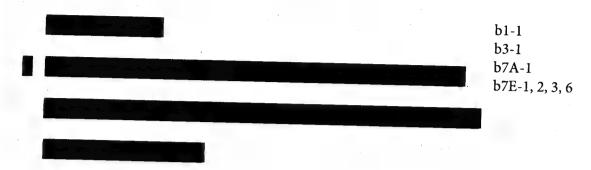












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(U) (S) The FBI has reviewed this verified application for accuracy in accordance with its April 5, 2001 procedures, which include sending a copy of the draft to the appropriate field office(s). A copy of those procedures was previously provided to the Court.

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-53-

(U) VERIFICATION

(\Re) I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing information

States Code, § 1746 on	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1
Supervisory Special Agent Federal Bureau of Investigation	b6-1 b7A-1 b7C-1

I, LeeAnn Flynn Hall, Clerk, FISC, certify that this document is a true and correct copy of the original.

(U) CERTIFICATION

(§) I, the undersigned, having been designated as one of the officials authorized to make the certifications required by the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978,

amended, do hereby certify with regard to the

requested in this verified application targeting

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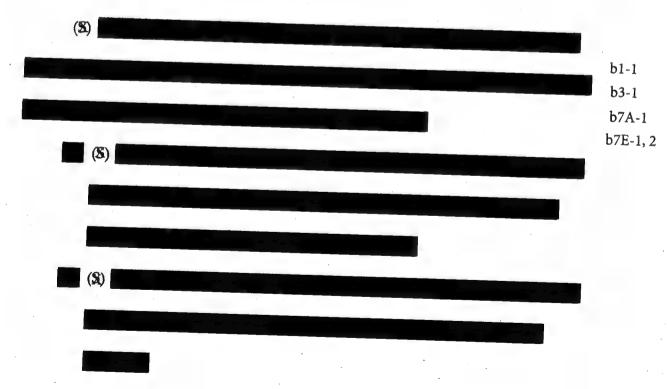
Carter W. Page, an agent of the Government of Russia, a foreign power, as follows:

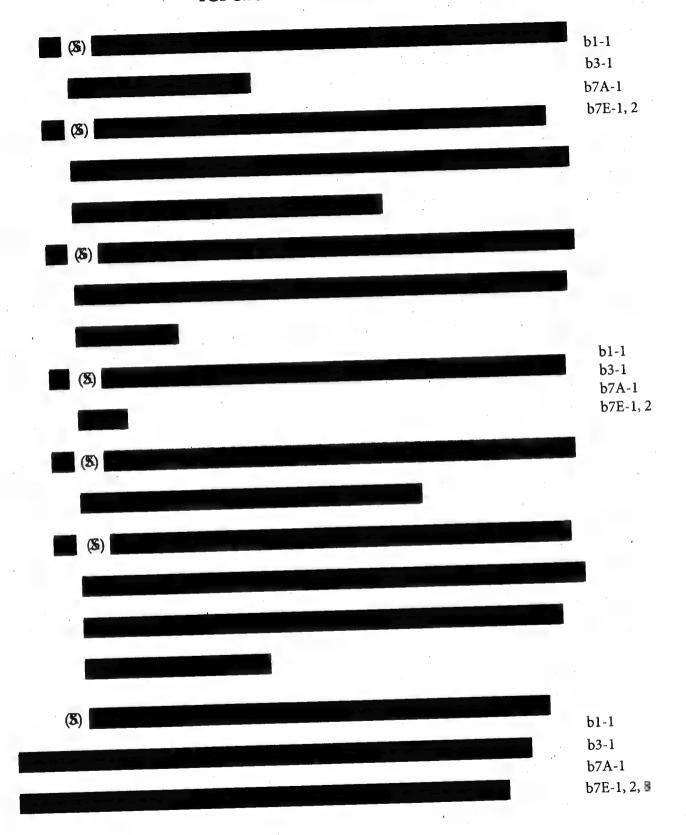
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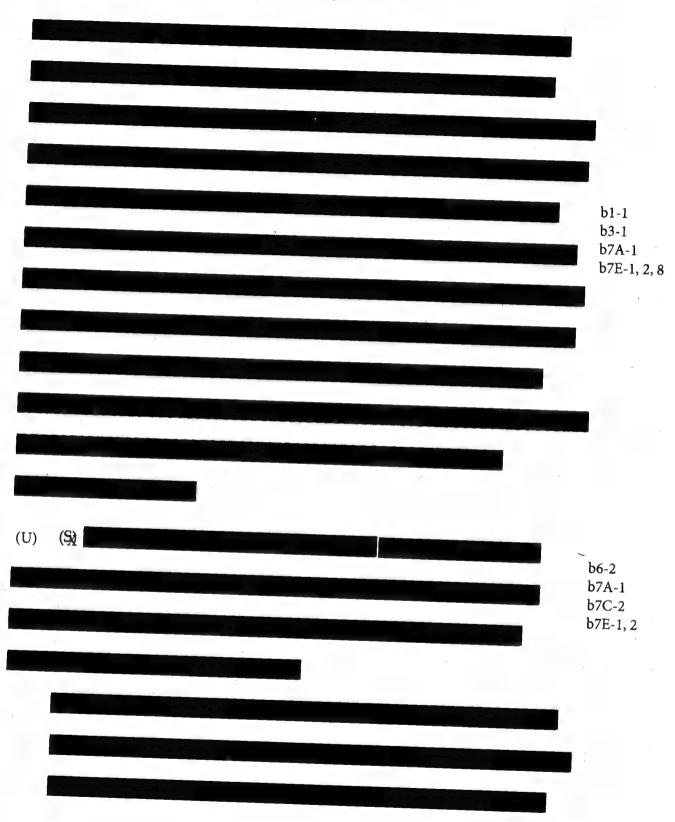
- (A) (U) The information sought through the authorities requested herein is foreign intelligence information.
- (B) (U) At least significant purpose of the authorities requested herein is to obtain foreign intelligence information and, notwithstanding the related criminal matters described in this application, the primary purpose of the authorities requested herein is **not** to obtain information for the prosecution of crimes other than those referred to in the Act, 50 U.S.C. § 1801(a)-(e), or related to such foreign intelligence crimes.
- (C) (U) The foreign intelligence information sought by the authorities $\begin{array}{c} b1-1 \\ b3-1 \\ \hline b7A-1 \\ b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 \\ \end{array}$
- (D) (S) The type of foreign intelligence information being sought through the authorities requested herein is that described in 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e)(1)(C), i.e.,

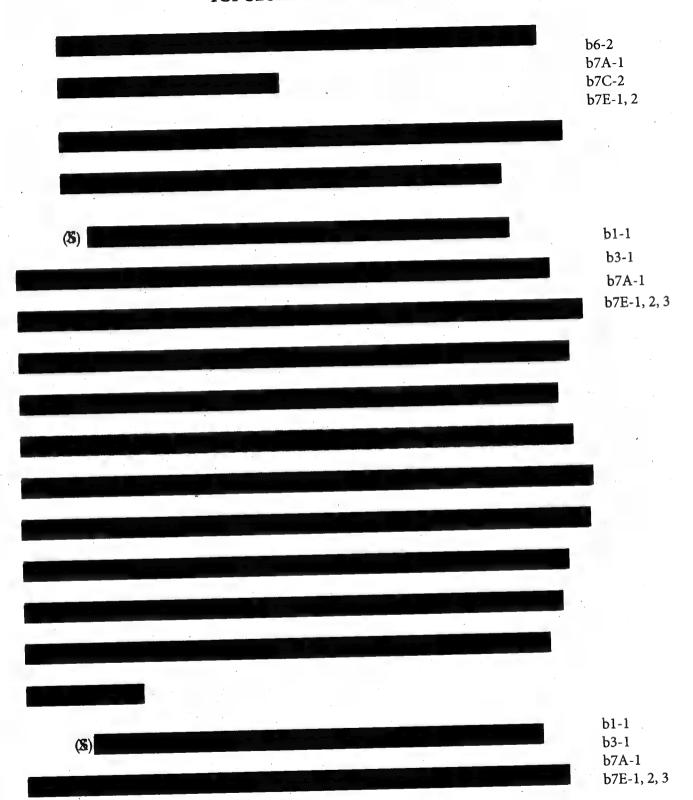
information that relates and is necessary to the ability of the United States to protect against clandestine intelligence activities by an intelligence service or network of this foreign power or by agents of this foreign power, and 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e)(2)(A)-(B), i.e., information with respect to a foreign power or foreign territory that relates and is necessary to the national defense or security, and the conduct of the foreign affairs of the United States. These same authorities may also incidentally acquire foreign intelligence information as defined by other subsections of 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e).

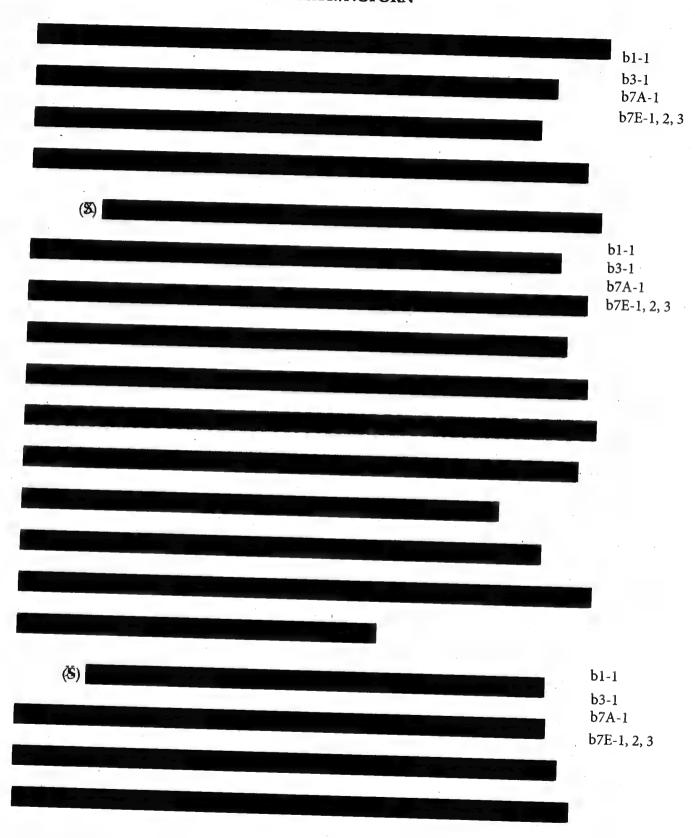
(E) (S) The basis for my certification that the information sought is the type $\begin{array}{r}
b1-1 \\
b3-1
\end{array}$ of foreign intelligence information specified herein and that such information cannot b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 be obtained by normal investigative techniques is as follows.

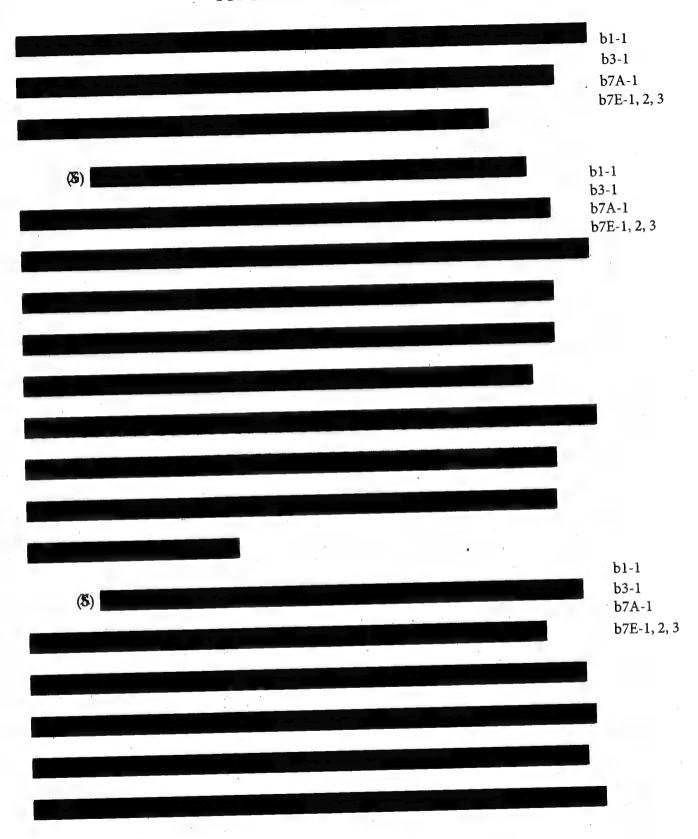














(U) (St) Based upon the foregoing information, it is the Government's belief that the authorities requested herein targeting Page are critical investigative means for obtaining the foreign intelligence information identified herein.

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(S) Accordingly, I execute this certification regarding Carter W. Page in accordance with the requirements of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of

John F. Kerry James B. Comev Secretary of State Director Federal Bureau of Investigation Antony J. Blinken Andrew G. McCabe Deputy Secretary of State **Deputy Director** Federal Bureau of Investigation Ash Carter John O. Brennan Secretary of Defense Director of the Central Intelligence Agency Susan E. Rice James R. Clapper, Jr. Assistant to the President for Director of National Intelligence **National Security Affairs** Stephanie O'Sullivan Principal Deputy Director of National Intelligence

Date 3 17 17

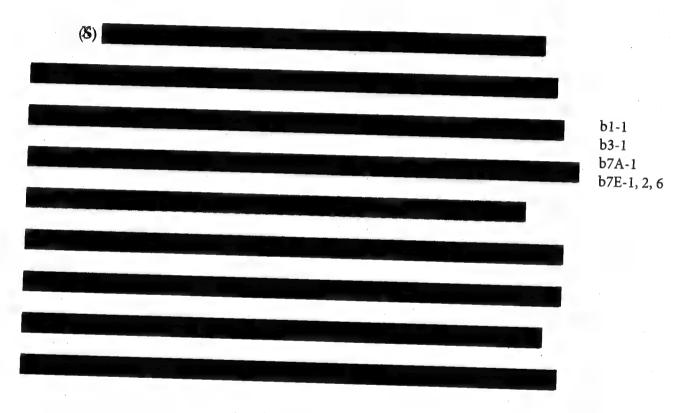
1978, as amended.

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I, LeeAnn Flynn Hall, Clerk, FISC certify that this document is a true and correct copy of the original. b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1

(U) APPROVAL

(U) (S) I find that this application regarding Carter W. Page satisfies the criteria and requirements for such applications set forth in the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, ≥ amended, and hereby approve its filing with this Court.



W. Page with the Court, b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1 Loretta E. Lynch Attorney General of the United States

Sally Ouillian Yates

(S) Accordingly, I approve the filing of this application regarding Carter

Assistant Attorney General for National Security

Deputy Attorney General of the United States

b1-1 b3-1

b7A-1

I, LeeAnn Flynn Hall, Clerk certify that this document is a true and correct copy of the original.

(U) (§) WHEREFORE, the United States submits that this application regarding Carter W. Page satisfies the criteria and requirements of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, and therefore requests that this Court authorize the activities described herein, and enter the proposed orders and warrants which accompany this application.

Respectfully submitted,



U.S. Department of Justice

b6-3 b7A-1

b7C-3

I, LeeAnn Flynn Hall, Olerk, FISC, certify that this document is a true and correct copy of the original.

2016 OCT

UNITED STATES

LeeAnn Flynn Hail, Clerk of Court

Classify By: J23J98T32

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SURVEILLANCE COURT

Reason: (C)

Derived From: FBI NSICG, dated 10-2016

b1-1

b3-1

Declassify On:

WASHINGTON, D. C.

b7A-1

IN RE CARTER W. PAGE, A U.S.

Docket Number:



b1-1 b3-1

PERSON

b7A-1

PRIMARY ORDER AND WARRANT

1. An application having been made by the United States of America pursuant to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, 45 amended, 50 ISA or the Act), for an order and warrant

U.S.C. §§ (hereinafter "order") for

and full

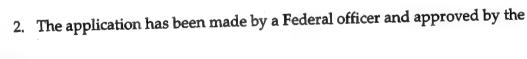
consideration having been given to the matters set forth therein, the Court finds

as follows:

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b7E-1, 2, 3, 6





3. On the basis of the facts submitted in the verified application, there is probable cause to believe that:

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Derived from:

Application to the USFISC

b1-1

in Docket Number captioned above

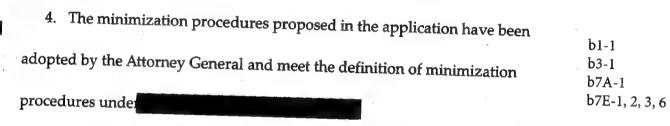
b3-1 b7A-1

Declassify on:

17-cv-597(FBI) - 67

(A) The Government of the Russian Federation (Russia) is ■ foreign power and Carter W. Page is an agent of Russia, as defined by

b7A-1
b7E-1, 2



5. The application contains all statements and certifications required by

and the certification is not clearly erroneous on the basis

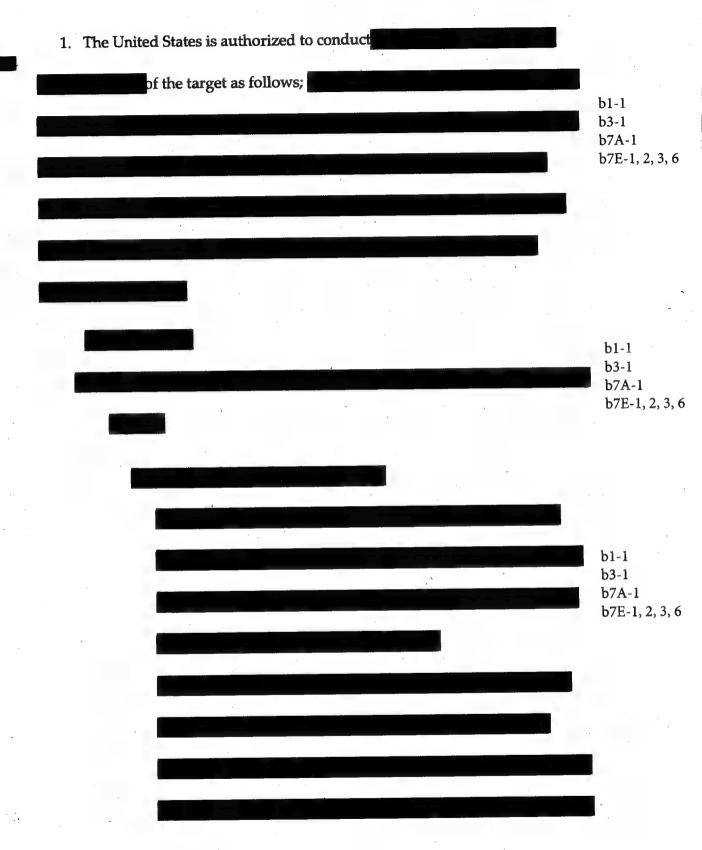
of the statements made unde

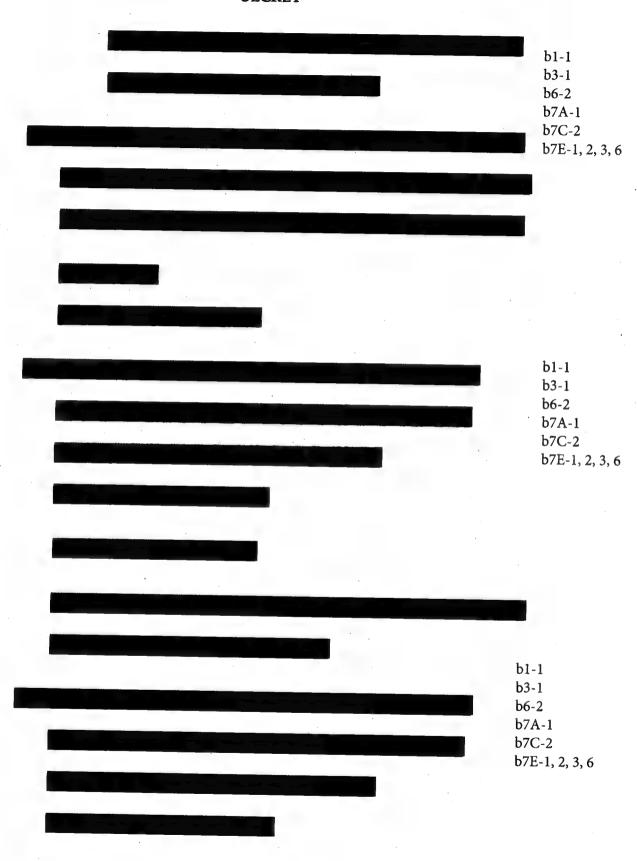
any other information furnished under the statements and certifications required by

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b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

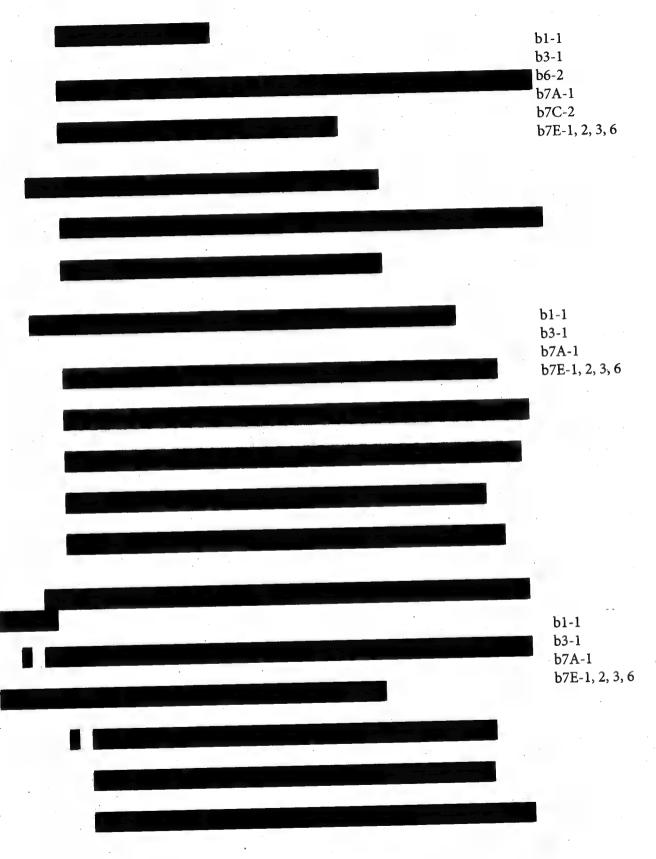
WHEREFORE, IT IS HEREBY ORDERED, pursuant to the authority conferred on this Court by the Act, that the application of the United States is GRANTED, and it is

FURTHER ORDERED, as follows:

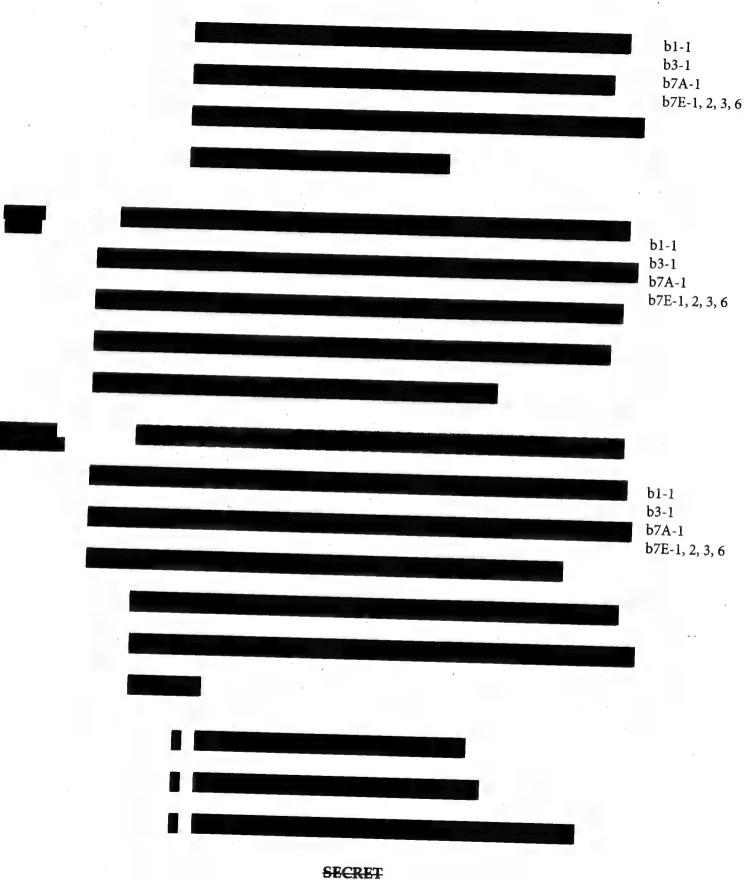


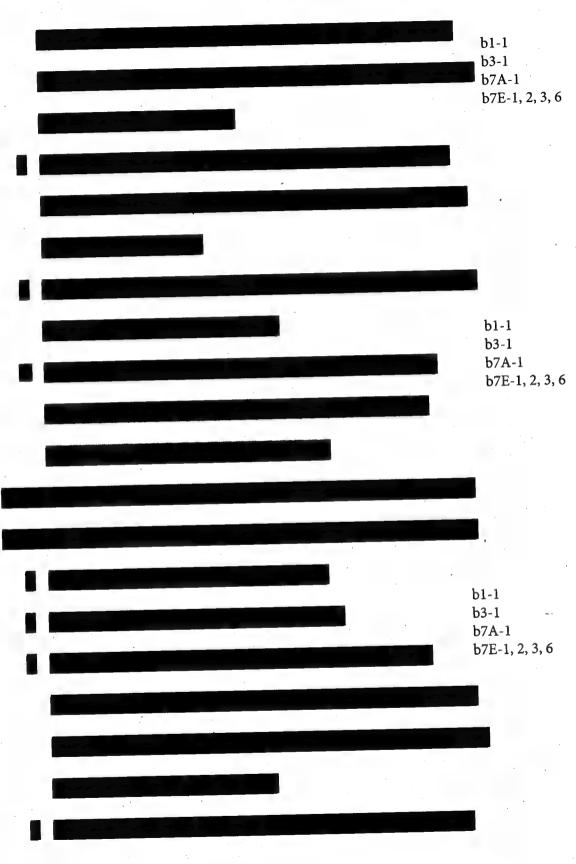


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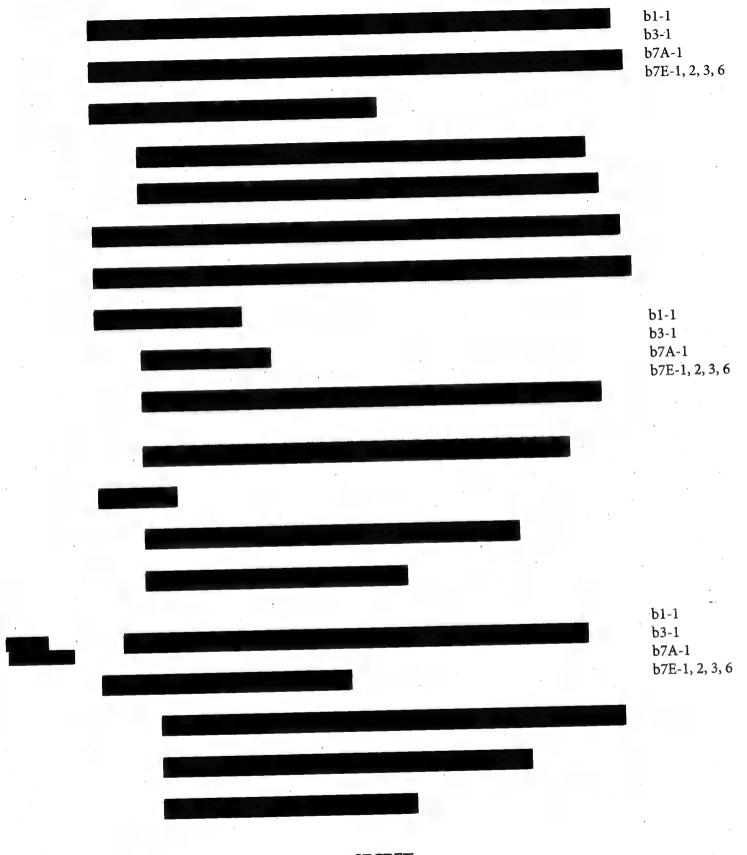


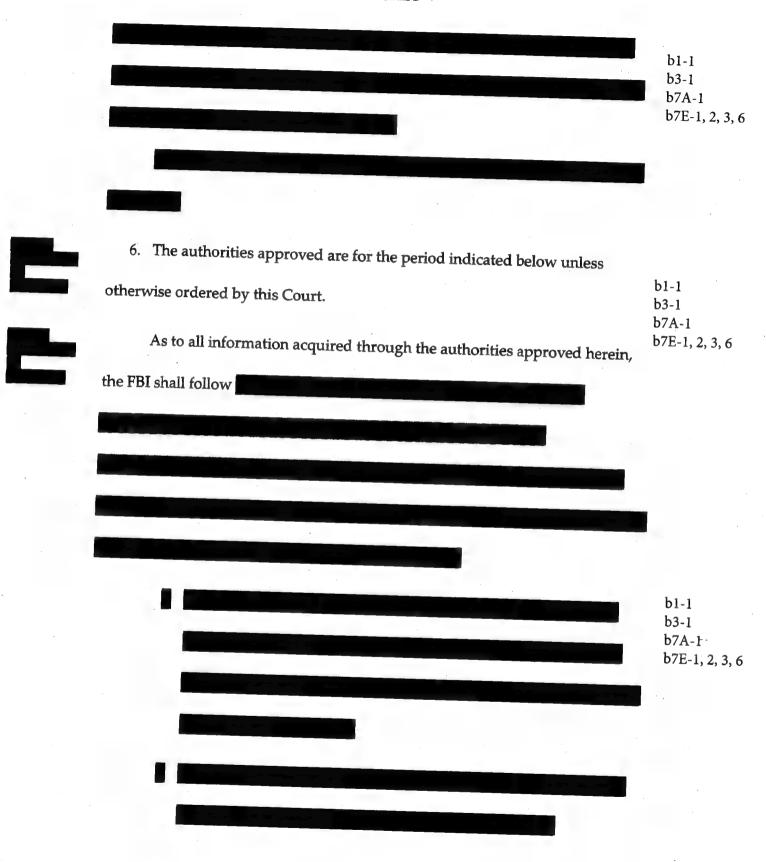


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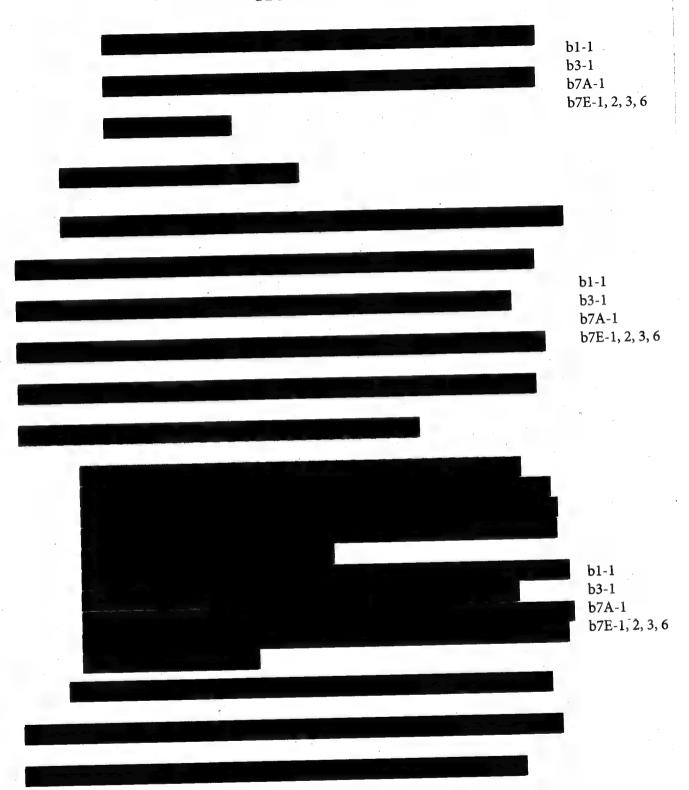


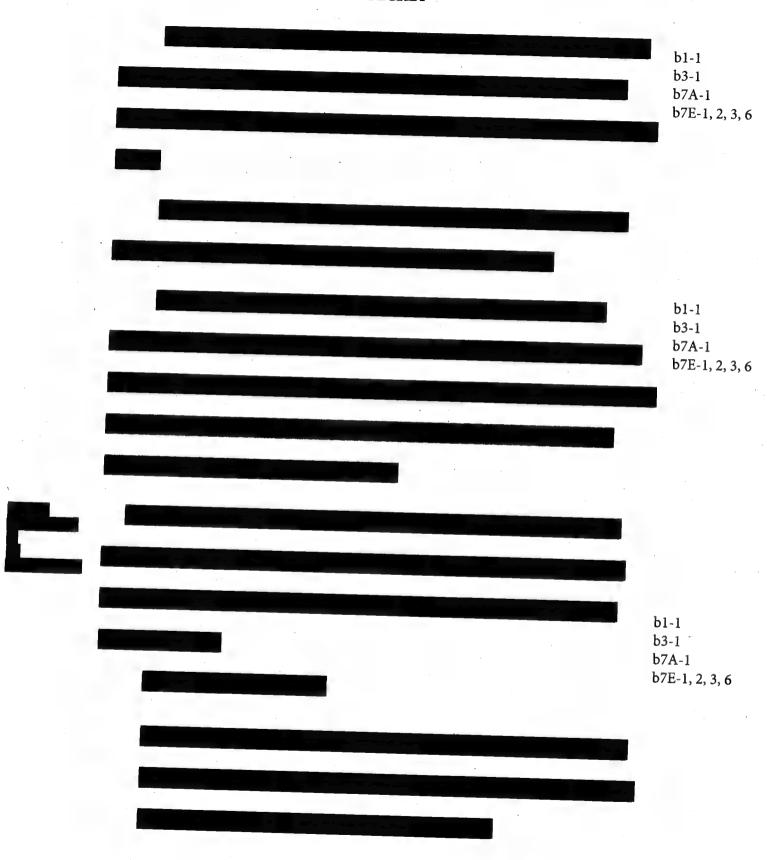


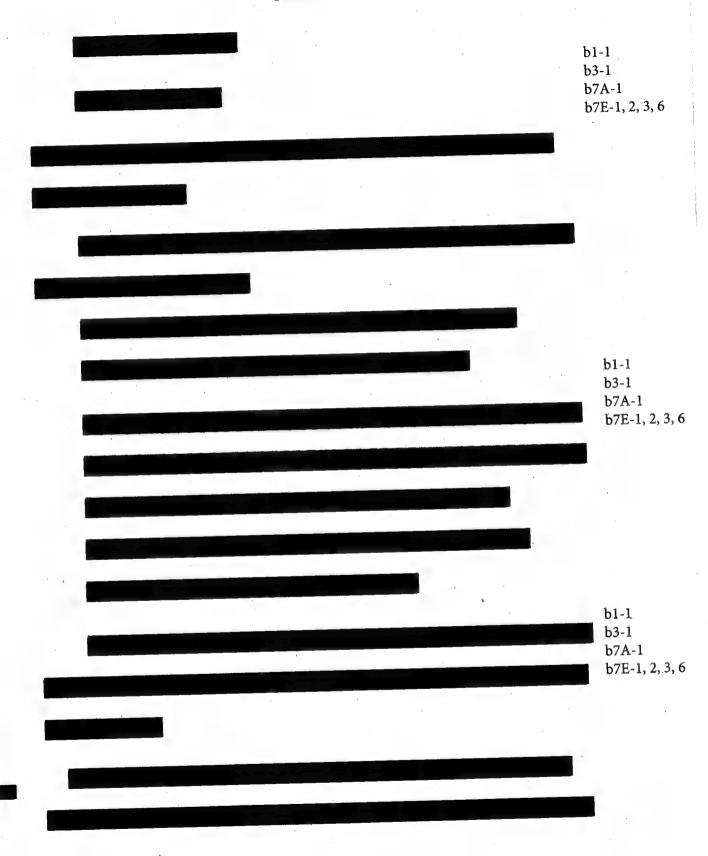


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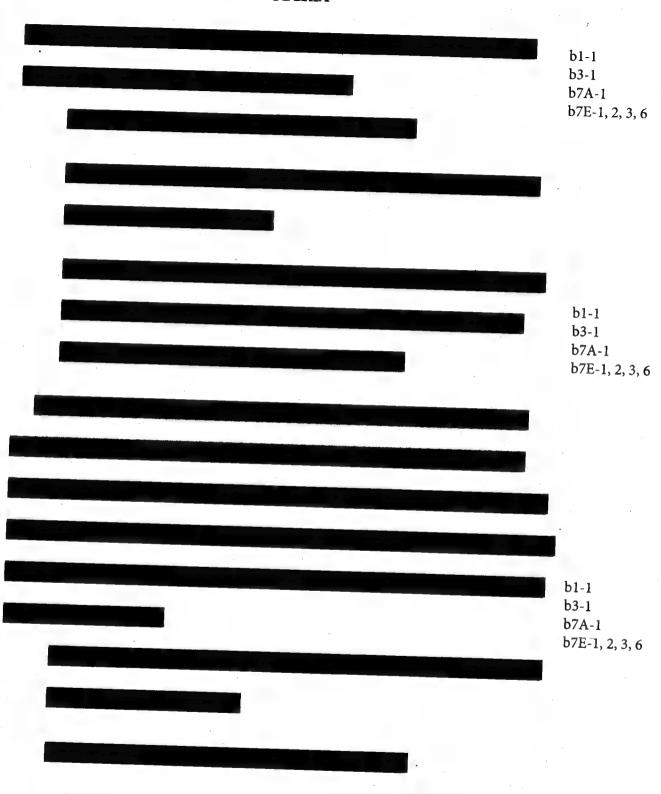


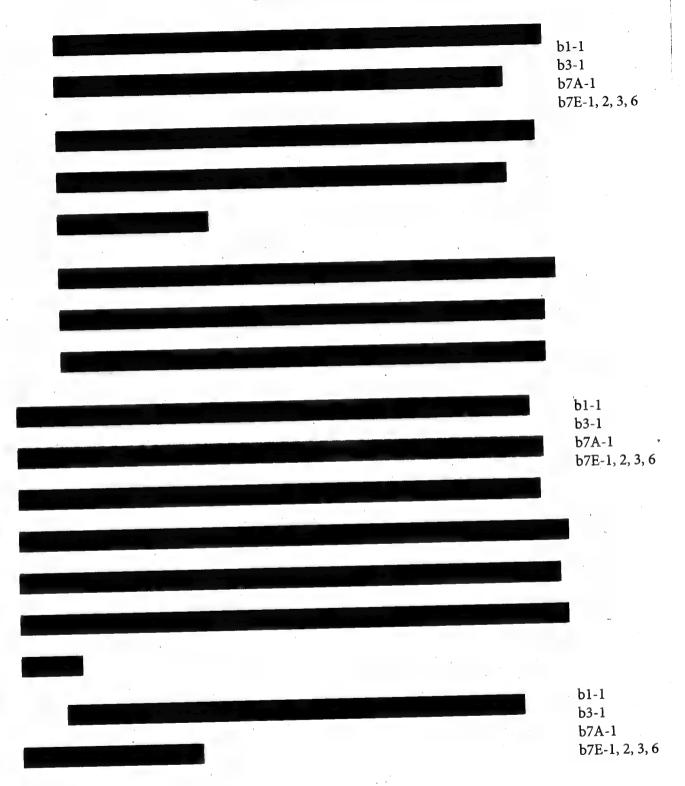


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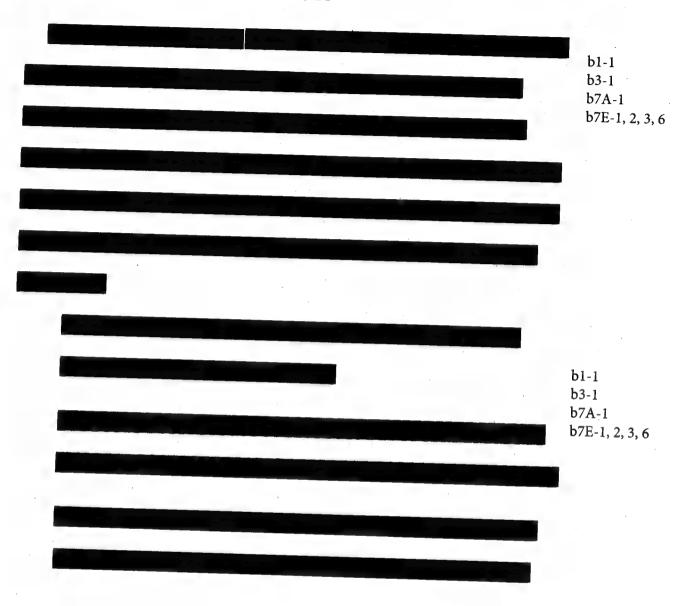
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17-cv-597(FBI) - 79









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This author	orization regarding Car	ter W. Page expires at	Eastern Time
on the	day of Ja	nuary, 2017.	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1
Signed	10-11-201 Date	Eastern Time	Time
		ROSEMARY M. COLI	

Intelligence Surveillance Court

I, LeeAnn Flynn Hall, Clerk, FISC, certify that this document is a true and correct copy of the original.

All information is considered unclassified except where otherwise shown

otherwise shown.	TOP SECRET	//NOFORN /FI	ISA (La Marina)			
Classify By: J23J98T32 Reason: (C) Derived From: FBI NSICG,	UNITE	D STATES				
Declassify On:	FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SURVEILLANCE COURT					
	WASHIN	IGTON, D.C.	b1-1 CLERA OF COURT b3-1 b7A-1			
(S) IN RE C	ARTER W. PAGE, A U.S.	Docket Nu	umber:			
PERSON.			b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1			

(U) VERIFIED APPLICATION

(2) The United States of America hereby applies to this Court for authority to conduct

as described herein, pursuant to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, Title 50, United

b1-1
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b7A-1
b7E-1, 2, 3, 6



of Investigation (**FBI**) whose official duties at FBI Headquarters include supervision b1-1 b7A-1 b7C-1 b7C-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

TOP SECRET//NOFORN/FISA

Classified by:

Derived from:

Declassify on:

2. (S) Identity of the Target The target of this application is Carter W.

Page, a U.S. person, and an agent of a foreign power, described in detail below. The status of the target was determined in or about December 2016 from information

provided by the U.S. Department of State.

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b7E-1, 2, 3, 6



3. (\$) Statement of Facts The United States relies upon the following facts and circumstances in support of this application.

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a. (3) The target of this application is an agent of a foreign power.

b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

- (X) The following describes the foreign power and sets forth in detail a description of the target and the target's activities for or on behalf of this foreign power.
- (U) (S) This verified application reports on developments in the FBI's investigation of the above captioned target since the most recent application described herein. Unless stated otherwise herein, information presented in previous applications has been summarized or removed not because it was factually inaccurate but in order to create a more concise document.
- (U) (X) The Government of the Russian Federation is a foreign power as defined by 50 U.S.C. § 1801(a)(1).

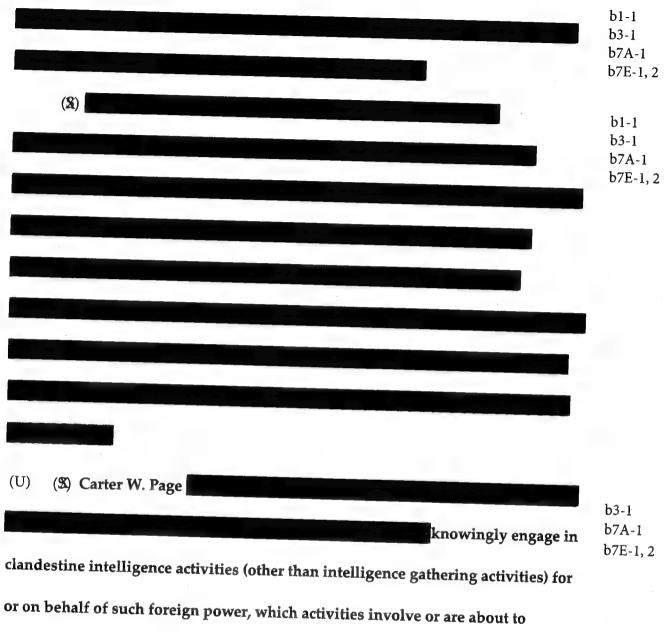
(U) (3) The Government of the Russian Federation (Russia) is an internationally recognized foreign government and, as of the execution of this application, is listed in the Diplomatic List, published by the United States Department of State, and in Permanent Missions to the United Nations, published by the United Nations, and its establishments in the United States are components thereof.

(%) Clandestine Intelligence Activities Of The Russian Federation

(%)

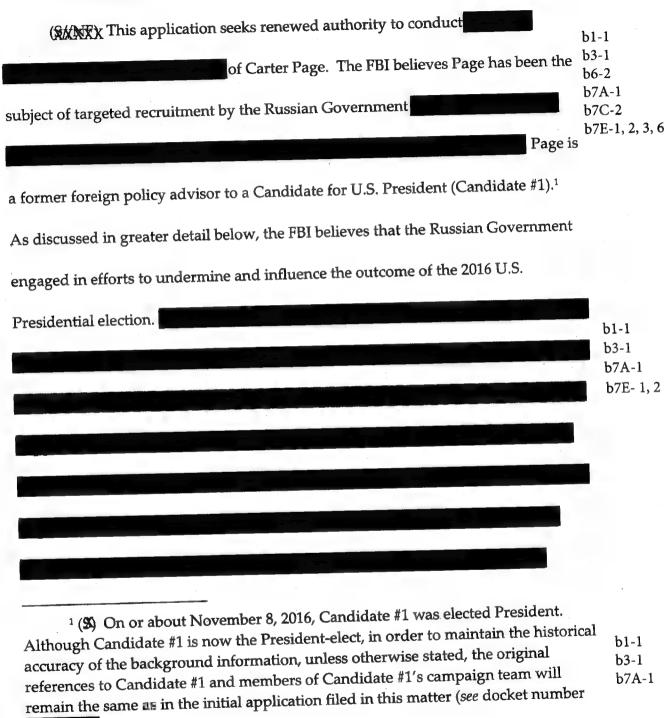
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b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2



clandestine intelligence activities (other than intelligence gathering activities) for or on behalf of such foreign power, which activities involve or are about to involve a violation of the criminal statutes of the United States, or knowingly conspires with other persons to engage in such activities and, therefore, is an agent of a foreign power as defined by 50 U.S.C. § 1801(b)(2)(E).

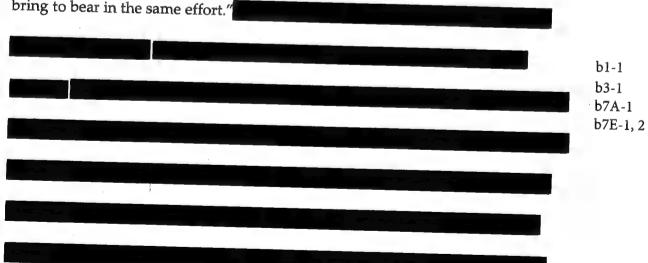
I. (U) Overview.



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- II. (SXXXF) The FBI Believes that the Russian Government Engages in Influence Operations Against the United States.
 - (U) A. (SMNEX RIS Efforts to Influence U.S. Presidential Elections.

Director of National Intelligence (DNI) stated, "Russia has tried to influence U.S. elections since the 1960s during the Cold War" and "there's a tradition in Russia of interfering with elections, their own and others." The DNI commented that this influence included providing money to particular candidates or providing disinformation. The DNI added that "it shouldn't come as a big shock to people, ... I think it's more dramatic maybe because they have the cyber tools that they can bring to bear in the same effort."



b;	1-1 3-1 7A-1 7E-1, 2
(SWE) In or about July 2016, WikiLeaks released a trove of e-mails from the Democratic National Committee (DNC). ²	
There has been speculation in the U.S. media that the Russian Government was behind the hack. Russia has publicly denied any involvement in the hack. Russian President Vladimir Putin said in or about September 2016 that Russia was not responsible for the hack, but said that the release of the DNC documents was a net positive: "The important thing is the content that was given to the public."	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E- 1, 2, 3
² (SANK) According to information on its website, WikiLeaks is a multinational media organization and associated library. WikiLeaks specializes in the analysis and publication of large datasets of censored or otherwise restricted official materials involving war, spying, and corruption. According to open source information, in or about July 2016, WikiLeaks released thousands of e-mails it says	b-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3

In

b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3

addition, according to an October 7, 2016 Joint Statement from the Department of Homeland Security and the Office of the Director of National Intelligence on Election Security (Election Security Joint Statement), the USIC is confident that the Russian Government directed the recent compromises of e-mails from U.S. persons and institutions, including from U.S. political organizations. The Election Security Joint Statement states that the recent disclosures of e-mails on, among others, sites like WikiLeaks are consistent with the methods and motivations of Russian-directed efforts. According to the Election Security Joint Statement, these thefts and disclosures were intended to interfere with the U.S. election process; activity that is not new to Moscow - the Russians have used similar tactics and techniques across Europe and Eurasia, for example, to influence public opinion there. The Election Security Joint Statement stated that, based on the scope and sensitivity of these efforts, only Russia's senior-most officials could have authorized these activities. More recently, on December 29, 2016, the White House issued a statement that the U.S. President had ordered a number of actions in response to the Russian Government's aggressive harassment of U.S. officials and cyber operations aimed at the U.S. election. According to this December 29th statement, the current U.S. Presidential Administration publicized its assessment in October [2016] that Russia

took actions intended to interfere with the U.S. election process and that these activities could only have been directed by the highest levels of the Russian Government [in context, this is likely a reference to the Election Security Joint Statement].

(SHNE) Based on the Russian Government's historical efforts to influence U.S. and foreign elections, and the information discussed herein regarding Russia's coordination b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 with Carter Page b7E-1, 2 to attempt to undermine and improperly and illegally influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential election. b7A-1 b7E-1, 2 As stated in the legislative history of FISA:

Not only do foreign powers engage in spying in the United States to obtain information, they also engage in activities which are intended to harm the Nation's security by affecting the course of our Government, the course of public opinion, or the activities of individuals. Such activities may include political action (recruiting, bribery or influencing of public officials to act in favor of the foreign power), disguised propaganda (including the planting of false or misleading articles or stories), and harassment, intimidation, or even assassination of individuals who oppose the foreign power. Such activity can undermine our democratic institutions as well as directly threaten the peace and safety of our citizens.

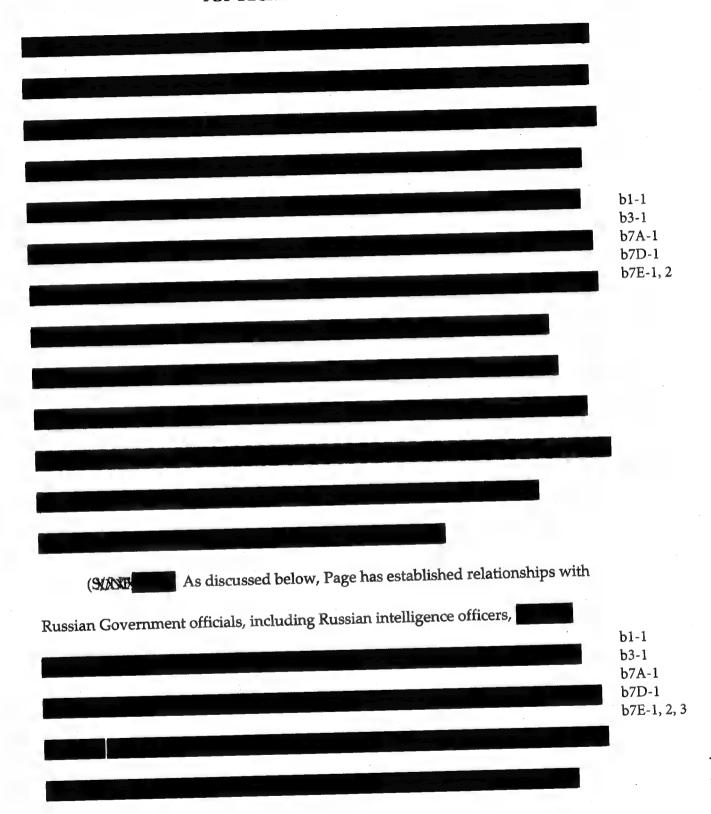
H.R. Rep. No. 95-1283, pt. 1, at 41 (1978).

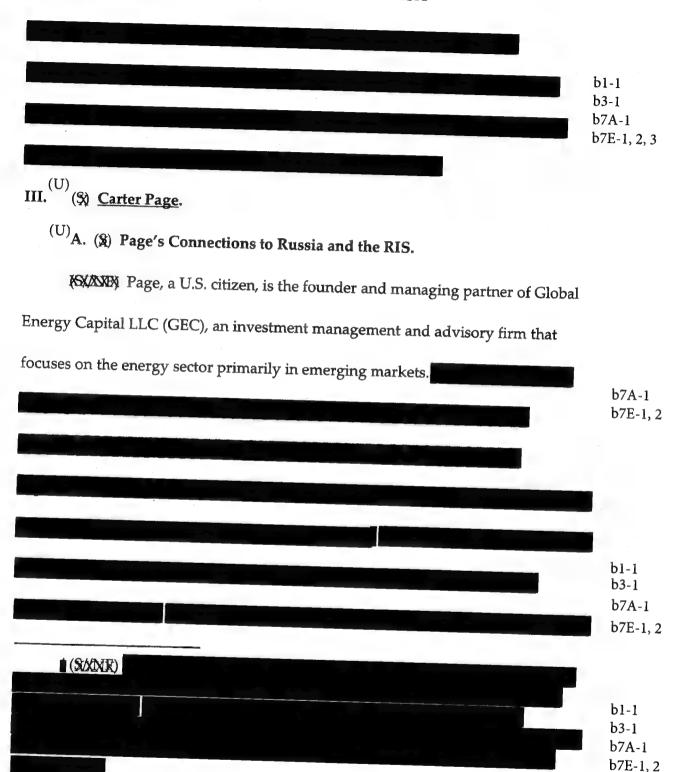
In or about March 2016, George Papadopoulos³ and Carter Page (the target of this application) were publicly identified by Candidate #1 as part of his/her foreign policy team.

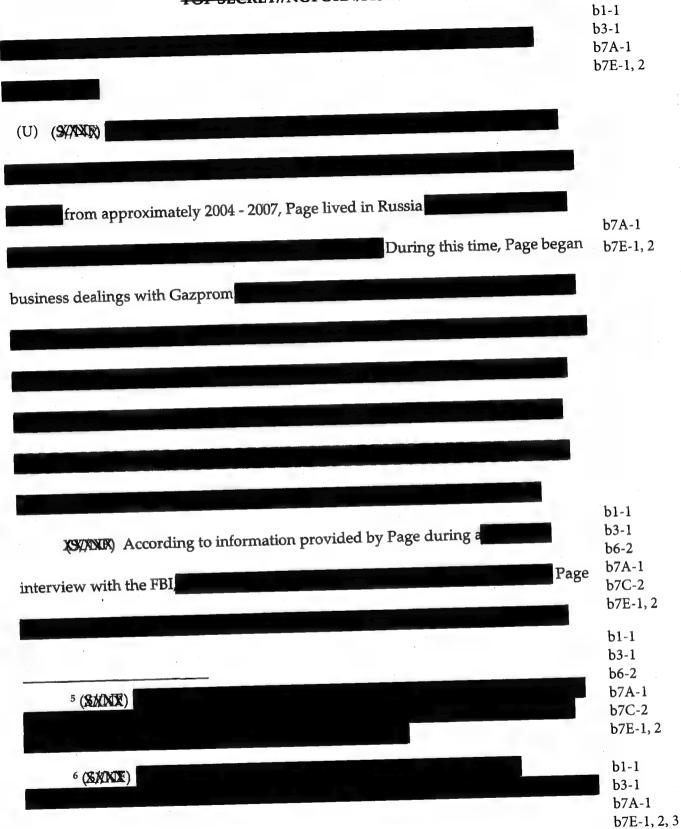
foreign policy team. b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2 the FBI believes that the Russian Government's efforts to influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential election were being coordinated with Page and perhaps other individuals associated with Candidate #1's campaign b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2 3 (**%**) b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1

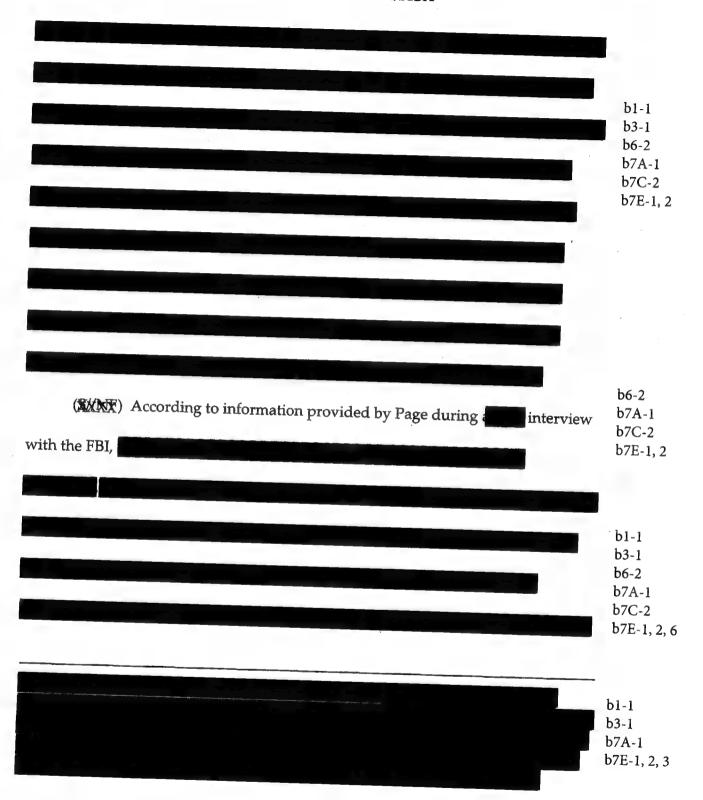
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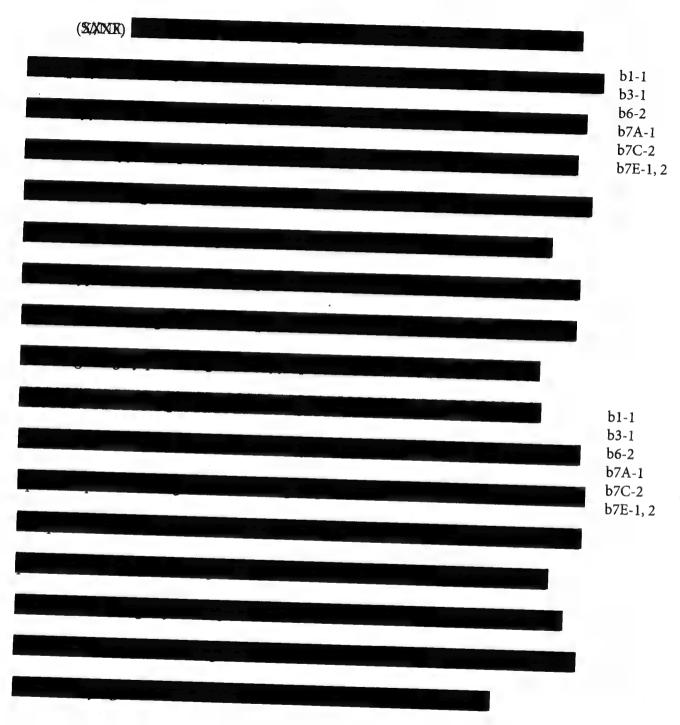
			b1-1
			b3-1 b6-2
			b7A-1 b7C-2 b7E-1, 2, 6

and Igor Sporyshev, were charged by a sealed complaint in the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York for violations of 18 U.S.C. §§ 371 and 951 (conspiring to act, and acting as, an unregistered agent of a foreign government).

According to the complaint, Buryakov worked in the United States as an agent of the SVR. Specifically, Buryakov operated under non-official cover, posing as an employee in the Manhattan office of a Russian bank. Buryakov worked with two other SVR agents, Podobnyy and Sporyshev, to gather intelligence on behalf of Russia. The complaint states that the intelligence gathering efforts of Podobnyy and Sporyshev included, among other things, attempting to recruit New York City

⁽U) ⁷ (SWE) Buryakov was arrested in or about January 2015. At the time of Buryakov's arrest, Podobnyy and Sporyshev no longer lived in the United States and were not arrested. In or about March 2016, Buryakov pled guilty to conspiring to act in the United States as an agent of Russia without providing prior notice to the Attorney General. In or about May 2016, Buryakov was sentenced to 30 months in prison.

residents as intelligence sources for Russia.



(U)

X(XXXXXXX) Source #1

B. (SWAYF) Page's Coordination with Russian Government Officials on 2016 U.S. Presidential Election Influence Activities.

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(U) 8 (SX/XXXX)	b7E-1, 2, 4

Source #1 has been compensated by the FBI. in or about October 2016, the FBI suspended its relationship with Source #1 due to Source #1's unauthorized disclosure of information to the press. Notwithstanding the suspension of its relationship with Source #1, the FBI assesses Source #1 to be reliable as previous reporting from Source #1 has been corroborated and used in criminal proceedings. Moreover, the FBI notes that the incident that led to the FBI suspending its relationship with Source #1 occurred after Source #1 provided the reporting that is described herein.

(U) (TSANT) Source #1, who now owns a foreign business/financial intelligence firm, was approached by an identified U.S. person, who indicated to Source #1 that B U.S.-based law firm had hired the identified U.S. person to conduct research regarding Candidate #1's ties to Russia (the identified U.S. person and Source #1 have a long-standing business relationship). The identified U.S. person hired Source #1 to conduct this research. The identified U.S. person never advised Source #1 as to the motivation behind the research into Candidate #1's ties to Russia. The FBI speculates that the identified U.S. person was likely looking for information that could be used to discredit Candidate #1's campaign.

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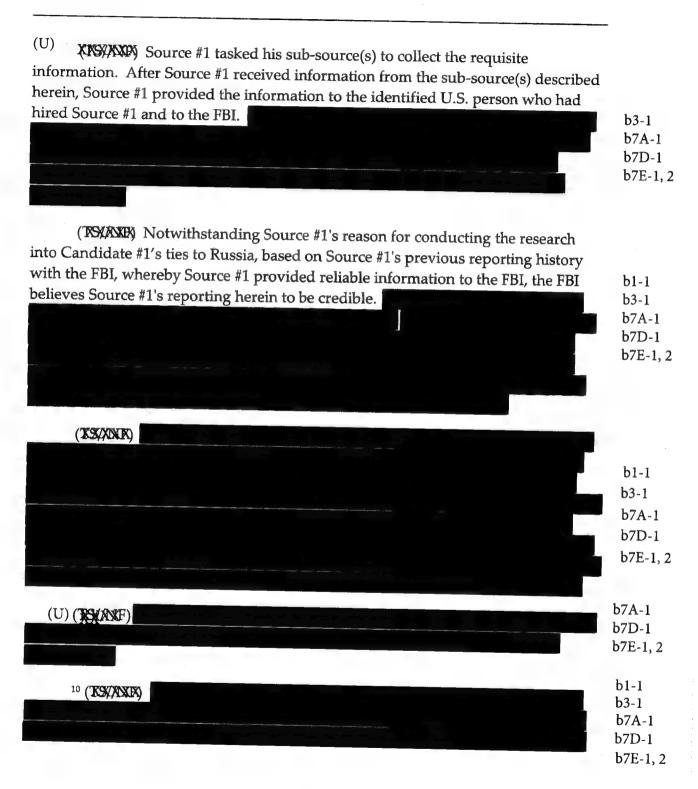
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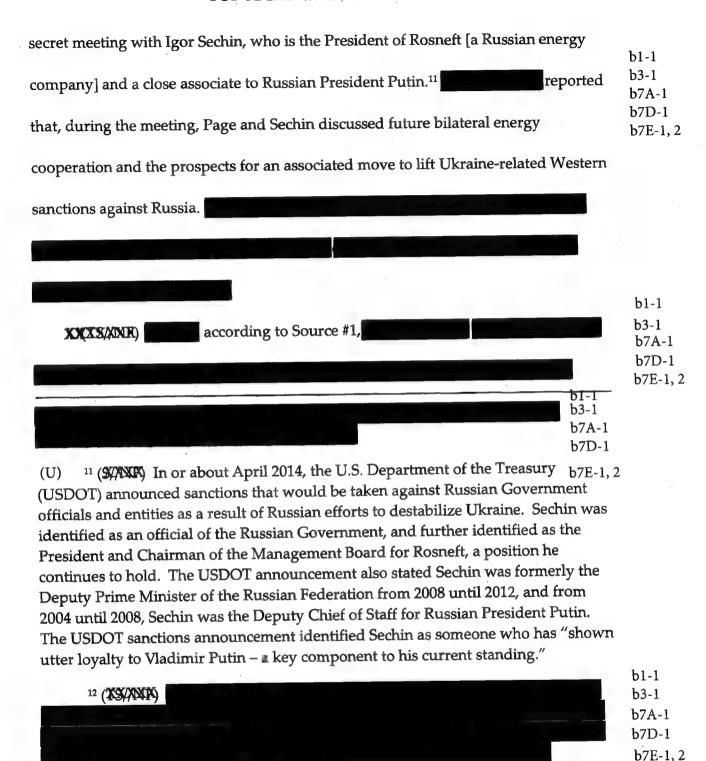
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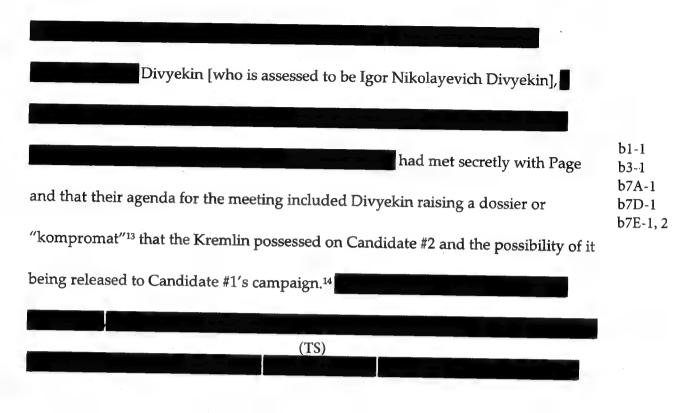
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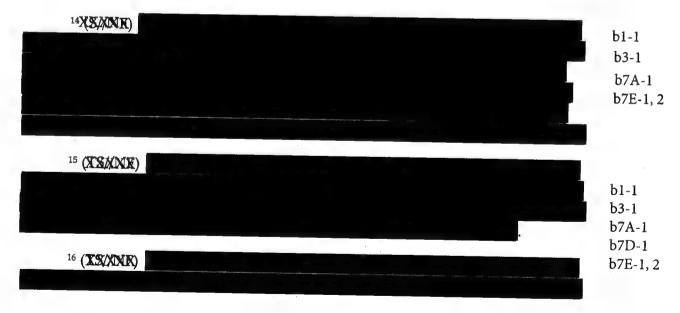
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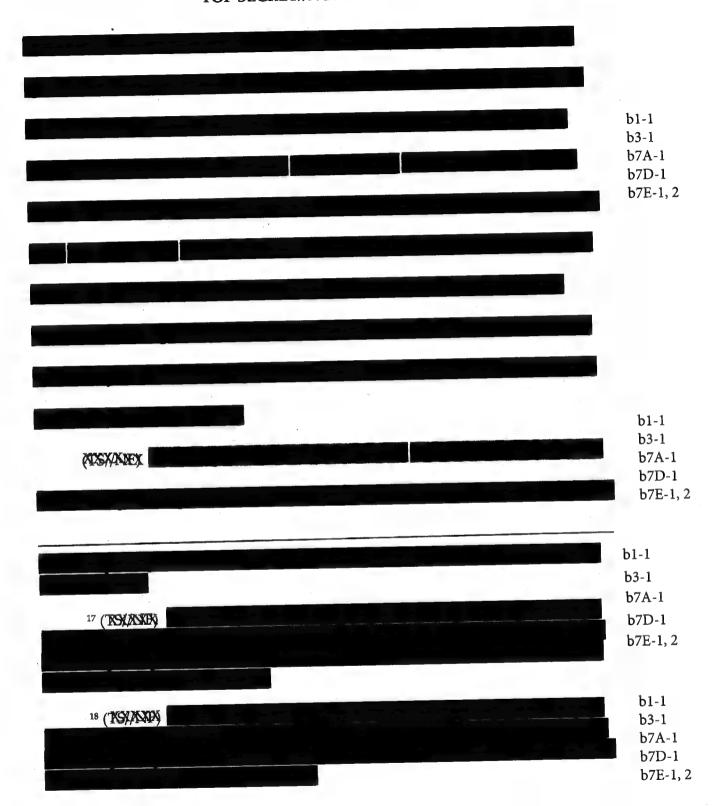


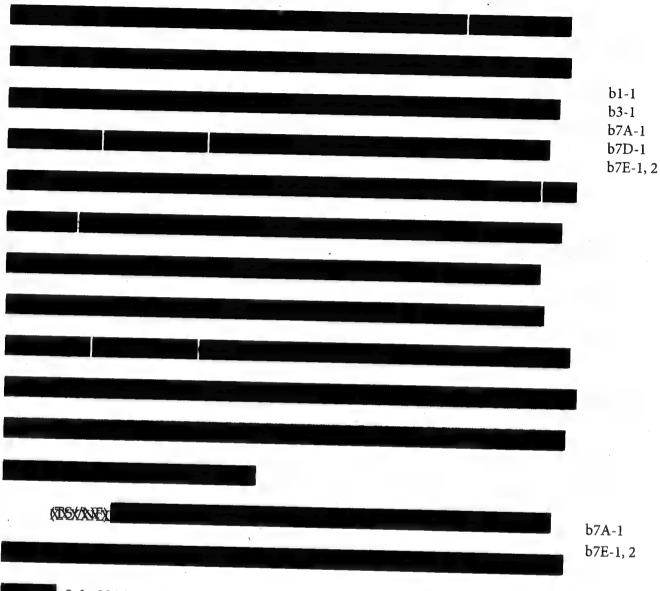


⁽U) 13 (S) Kompromat is a Russian term for compromising material about a politician or political figure, which is typically used to create negative publicity or blackmail.



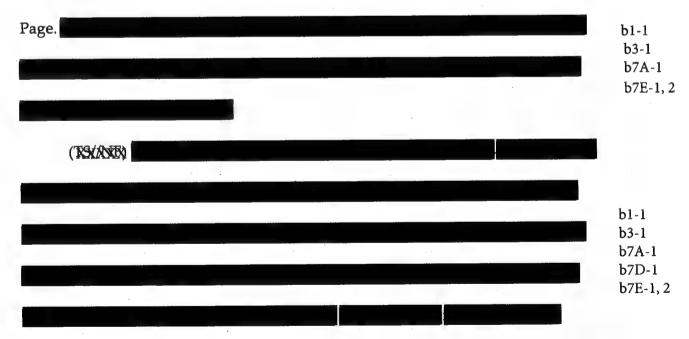
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Candidate #1's campaign worked behind the scenes to make sure Political Party #1's platform would not call for giving weapons to Ukraine to fight Russian and rebel forces, contradicting the view of almost all Political Party #1's foreign policy leaders in Washington. The article stated that Candidate #1's campaign sought "to make

sure that [Political Party #1] would not pledge to give Ukraine the weapons it has been asking for from the United States." Further, an August 2016 article published by an identified news organization, which characterized Candidate #1 as sounding like a supporter of Ukraine's territorial integrity in September [2015], noted that Candidate #1 had recently adopted a "milder" tone regarding Russia's annexation of Crimea. The August 2016 article further reported that Candidate #1 said Candidate #1 might recognize Crimea as Russian territory and lift punitive U.S. sanctions against Russia. The article opined that while the reason for Candidate #1's shift was not clear, Candidate #1's more conciliatory words, which contradict Political Party #1's official platform, follow Candidate #1's recent association with several people sympathetic to Russian influence in Ukraine, including foreign policy advisor Carter



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- IV. (U) (SXAXE) Page's Denial of Cooperation with the Russian Government to Influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election.
- (U) (SXXXXX) On or about September 23, 2016, an identified news organization published an article (September 23rd News Article), which was written by the news organization's Chief Investigative Correspondent, alleging that U.S. intelligence officials are investigating Page with respect to suspected efforts by the Russian Government to influence the U.S. Presidential election. According to the September 23rd News Article, U.S. officials received intelligence reports that when Page was in Moscow in July 2016 to deliver the above-noted commencement address at the New Economic School, he met with two senior Russian officials. The September 23rd News Article stated that a "well-placed Western intelligence source" told the news organization that Page met with Igor Sechin, a longtime Putin associate and former Russian deputy minister who is now the executive chairman of Rosneft. At their alleged meeting, Sechin raised the issue of the lifting of sanctions with Page. According to the September 23rd News Article, the Western intelligence source also reported that U.S. intelligence agencies received reports that Page met with another top Putin aide - Igor Divyekin, a former Russian security official who now serves as deputy chief for internal policy and is believed by U.S. officials to have

responsibility for intelligence collected by Russian agencies about the U.S. election.¹⁹

(U) (SXAM) According to the September 23rd News Article, certain members of Congress were "taken aback" after being briefed on the alleged meetings between Page and Russian officials and viewed the meetings as a possible back channel to the Russians that could undercut U.S. foreign policy. The September 23rd News Article

b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2

The FBI does not believe that Source #1 directly provided this information to the identified news organization that published the September 23rd News Article.

(U) (TSMNE) In or about late October 2016, however, after the Director of the FBI sent a letter to the U.S. Congress, which stated that the FBI had learned of new information that might be pertinent to an investigation that the FBI was conducting of Candidate #2, Source #1 told the FBI that he/she was frustrated with this action and believed it would likely influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential election. In response to Source #1's concerns, Source #1 independently, and against the prior admonishment from the FBI to speak only with the FBI on this matter, released the reporting discussed herein to an identified news organization. Although the FBI continues to assess Source #1's reporting is reliable, as noted above, the FBI has suspended its relationship with Source #1 because of this disclosure.

^{19 (**)} As discussed above, Source #1 was hired by a business associate to conduct research into Candidate #1's ties to Russia. Source #1 provided the results of his research to the business associate, and the FBI assesses that the business associate likely provided this information to the law firm that hired the business associate in the first place. Source #1 told the FBI that he/she only provided this information to the business associate and the FBI.

also stated that, following the briefing, the Senate Minority Leader wrote to the FBI Director, and citing the reports of meetings between an advisor to Candidate #1 [the advisor was unnamed in the letter, but the article indicated that the advisor is Page] and "high ranking sanctioned individuals" [in context, likely a reference to Sechin] in Moscow over the summer as evidence of "significant and disturbing ties" between Candidate #1's campaign and the Kremlin that needed to be investigated by the FBI.

in other articles published by identified news organizations, Candidate #1's campaign repeatedly made public statements in an attempt to distance Candidate #1's campaign from Page. For example, the September 23rd News Article noted that Page's precise role in Candidate #1's campaign is unclear. According to the article, a spokesperson for Candidate #1's campaign called Page an "informal foreign advisor" who "does not speak for [Candidate #1] or the campaign." In addition, another spokesperson for Candidate #1's campaign said that Page "has no role" and added "[w]e are not aware of any of his activities, past or present." However, the article stated that the campaign spokesperson did not respond when asked why Candidate #1 had previously described Page as an advisor. In addition, on or about September 25, 2016, an identified news organization published an article that was

based primarily on an interview with Candidate #1's then campaign manager.

During the interview, the campaign manager stated, "[Page is] not part of the campaign I'm running." The campaign manager added that Page has not been part of Candidate #1's national security or foreign policy briefings since he/she became campaign manager. In response to a question from the interviewer regarding reports that Page was meeting with Russian officials to essentially attempt to conduct diplomatic negotiations with the Russian Government, the campaign manager responded, "If [Page is] doing that, he's certainly not doing it with the permission or knowledge of the campaign"

b7A-1 b7E-1, 2

(U) (SWANF) On or about September 25, 2016, Page sent a letter to the FBI Director.

In this letter, Page made reference to the accusations in the September 23rd News

Article and denied them. Page stated that the source of the accusations was nothing

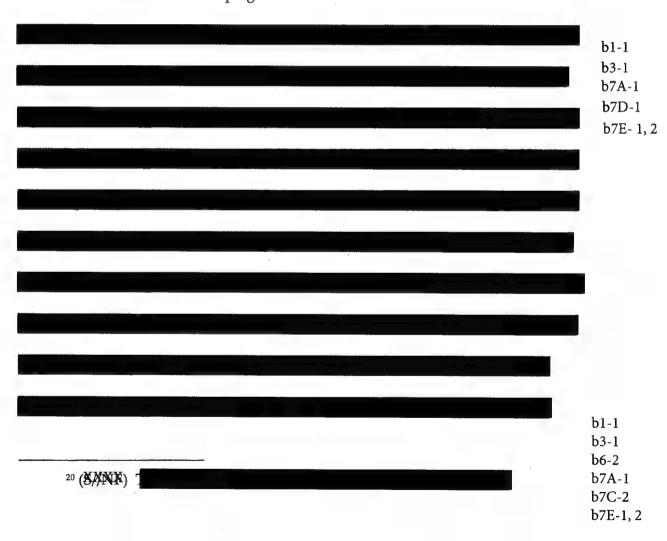
more than completely false media reports and that he did not meet with any

sanctioned official in Russia. Page also stated that he would be willing to discuss

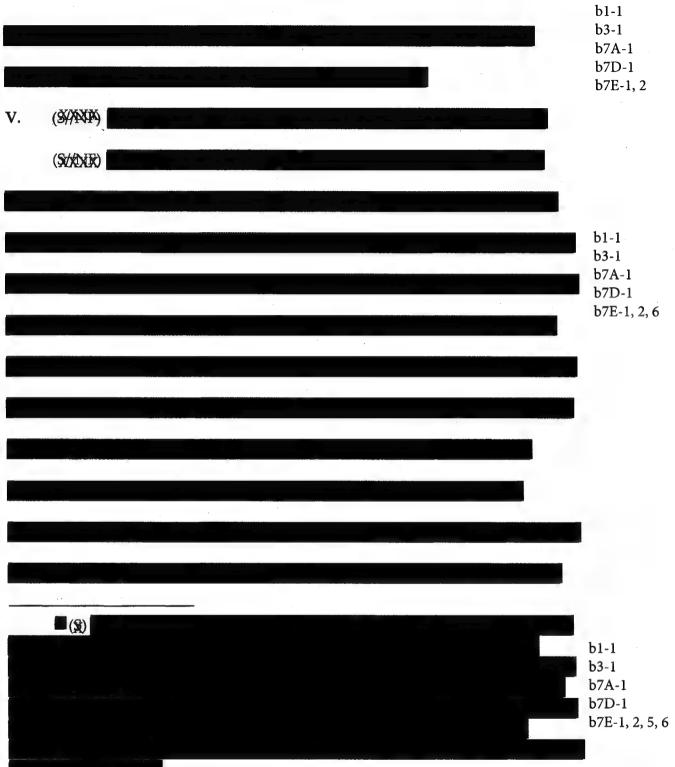
any "final" questions the FBI may have.20

organization published an article that was based on an interview with Page

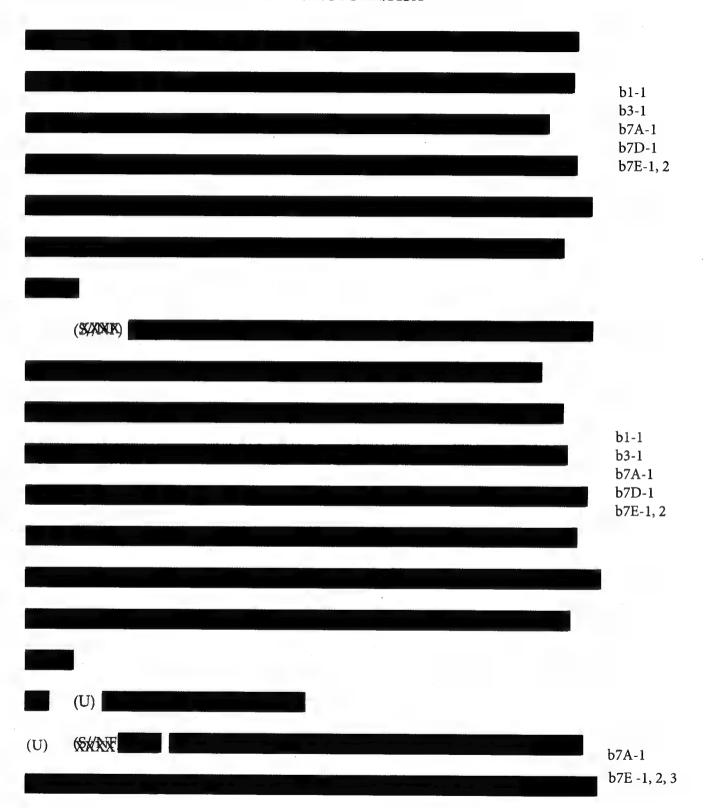
(September 26th News Article). In the September 26th News Article, Page stated that all of the accusations were complete "garbage" and that he did not meet with Sechin or Divyekin. Page also stated that he was taking a leave of absence from his work with Candidate #1's campaign because the accusations were a "distraction."

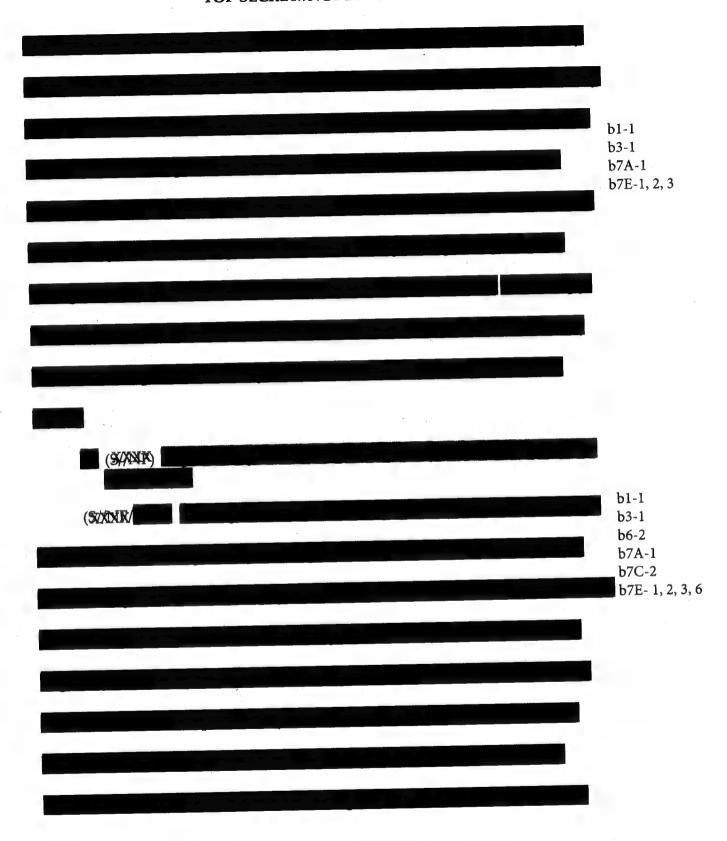


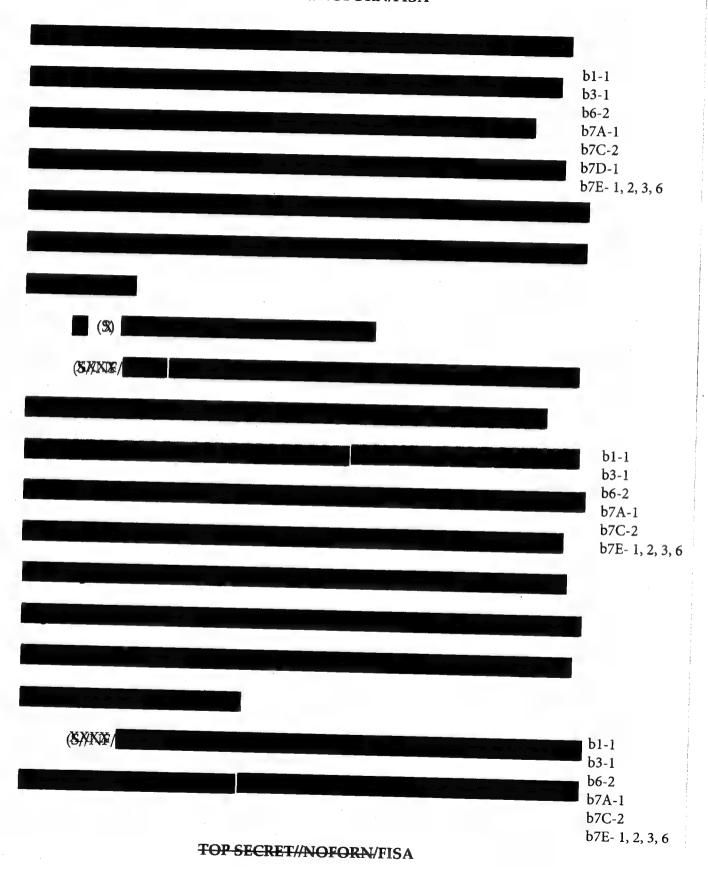
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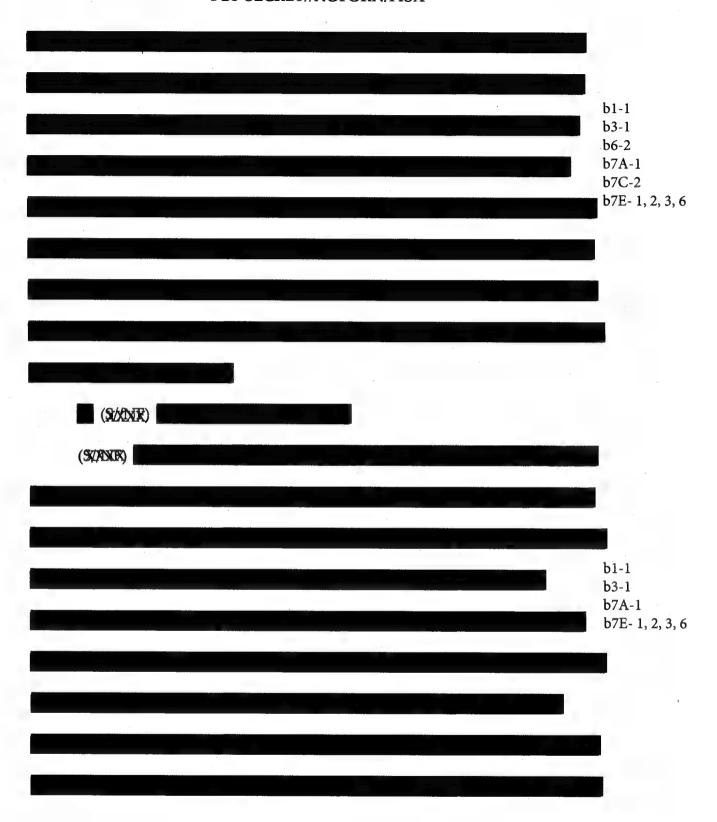


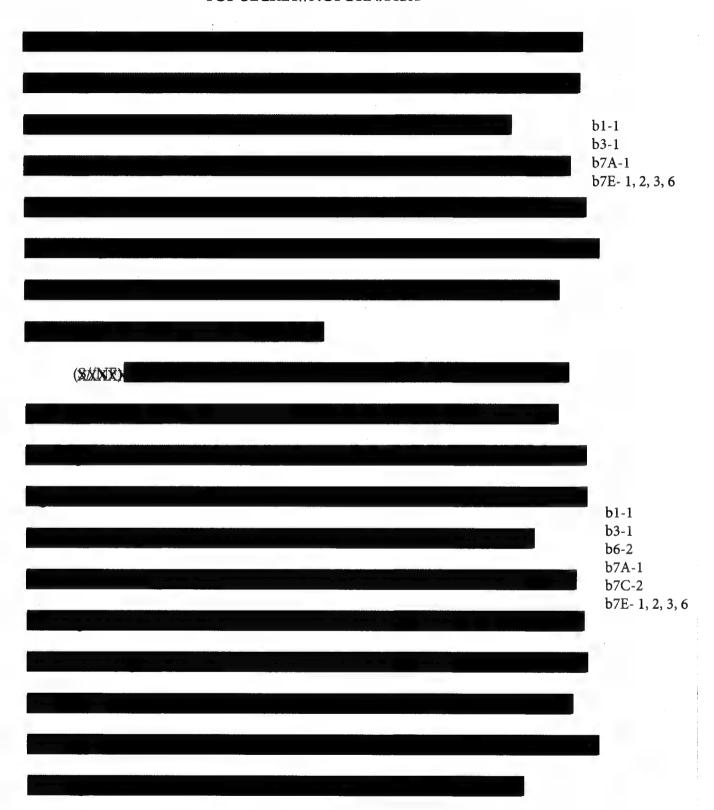
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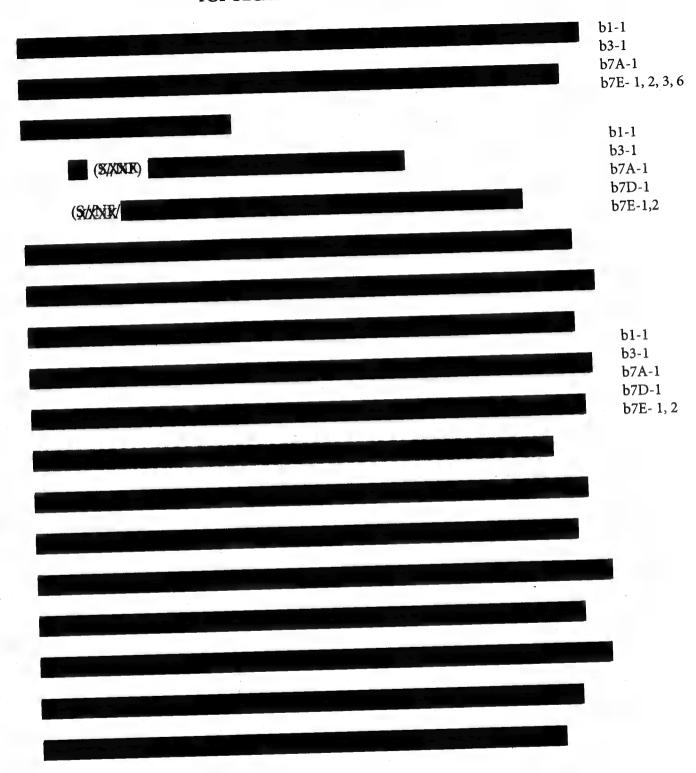


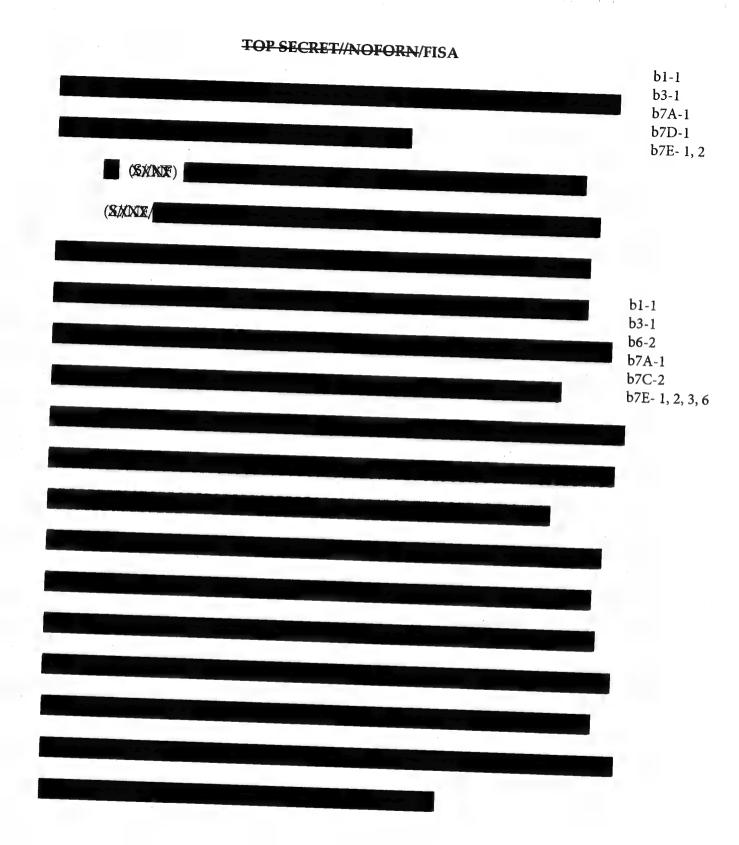


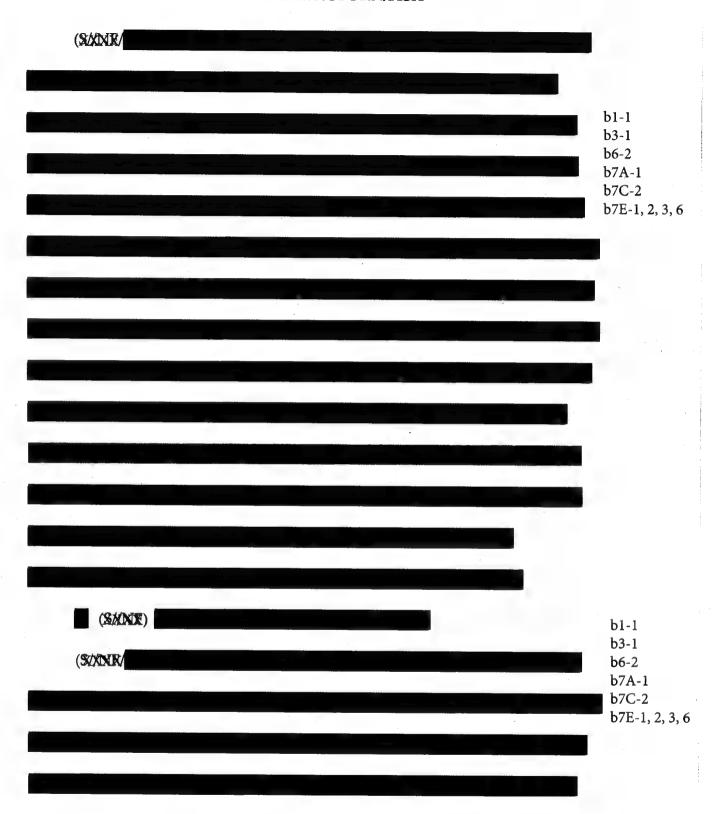


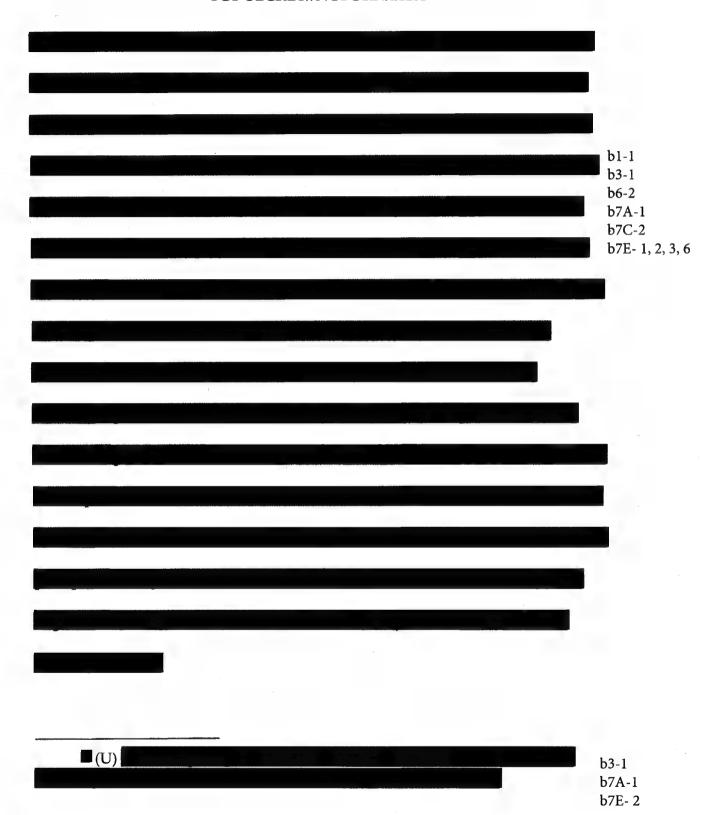


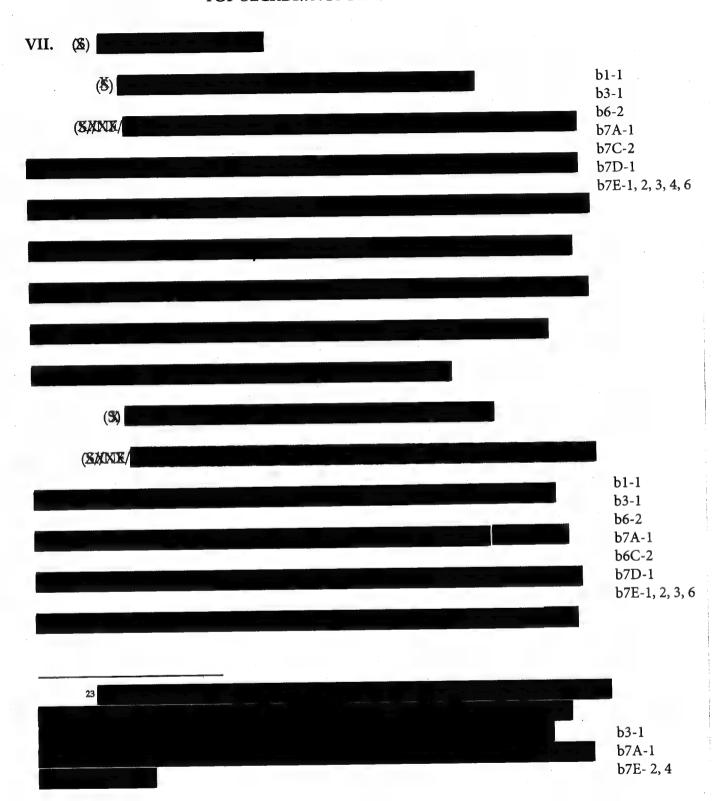


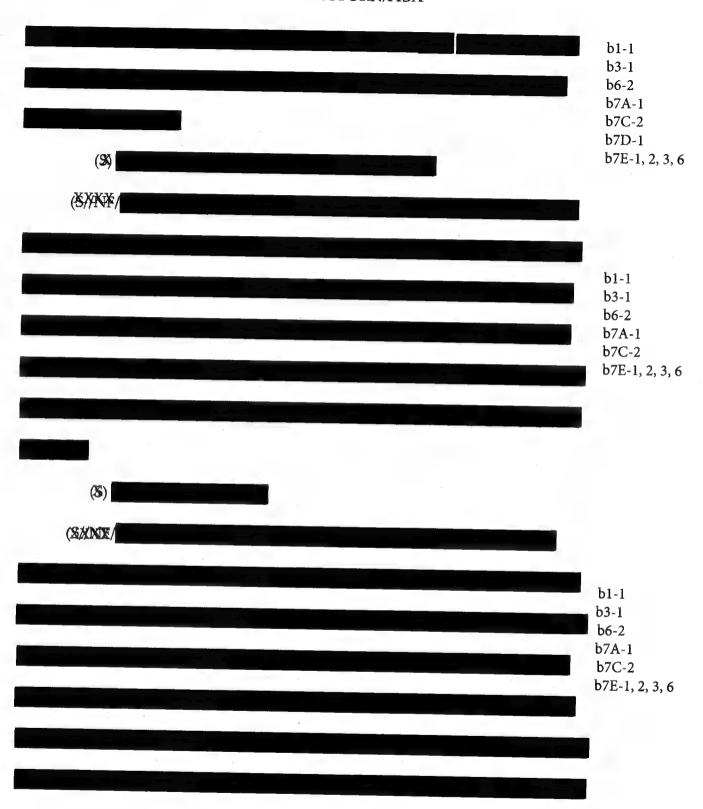


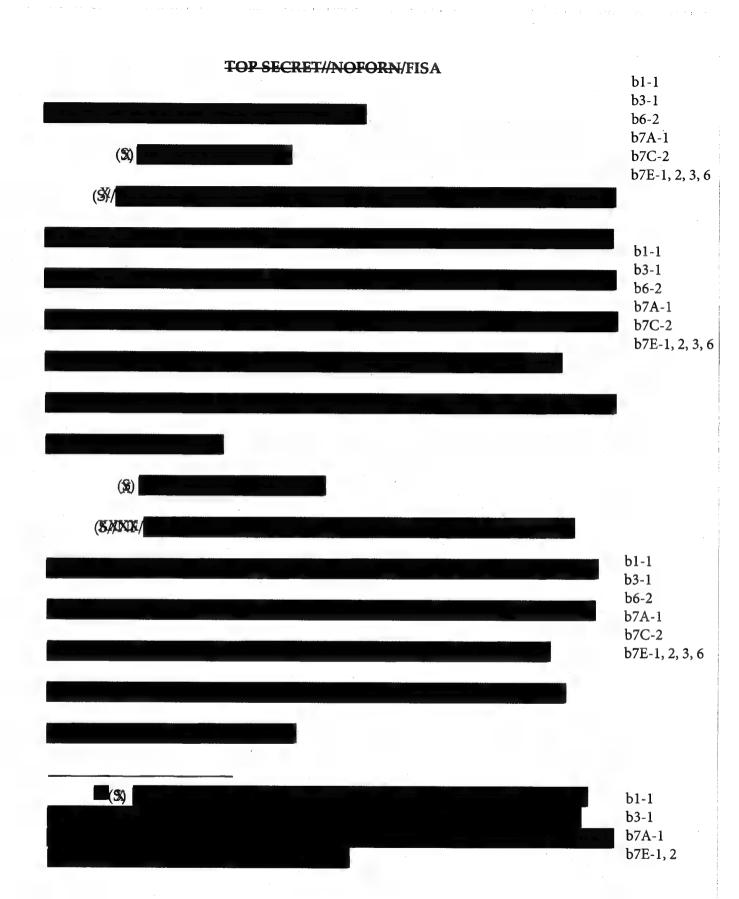


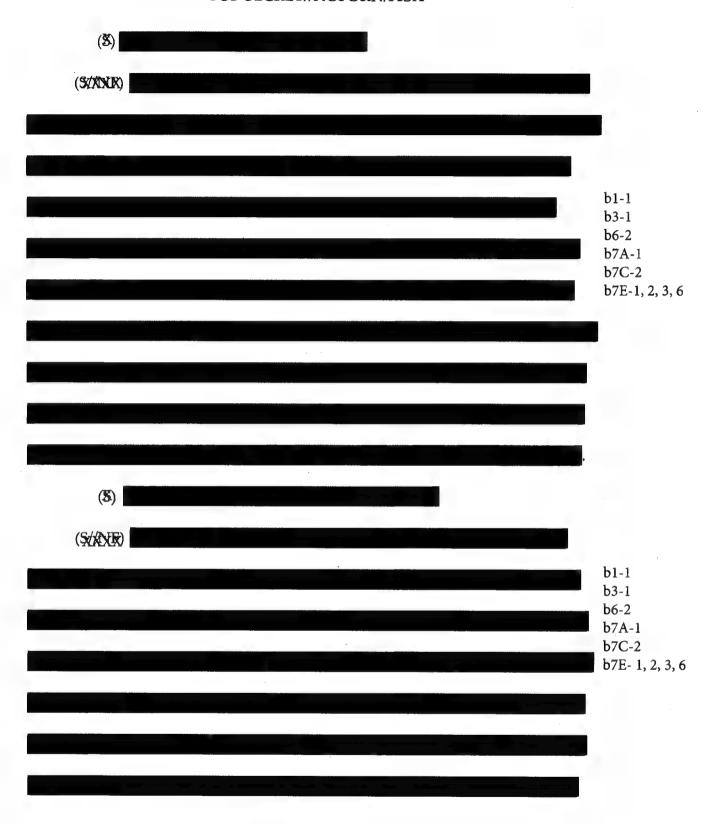


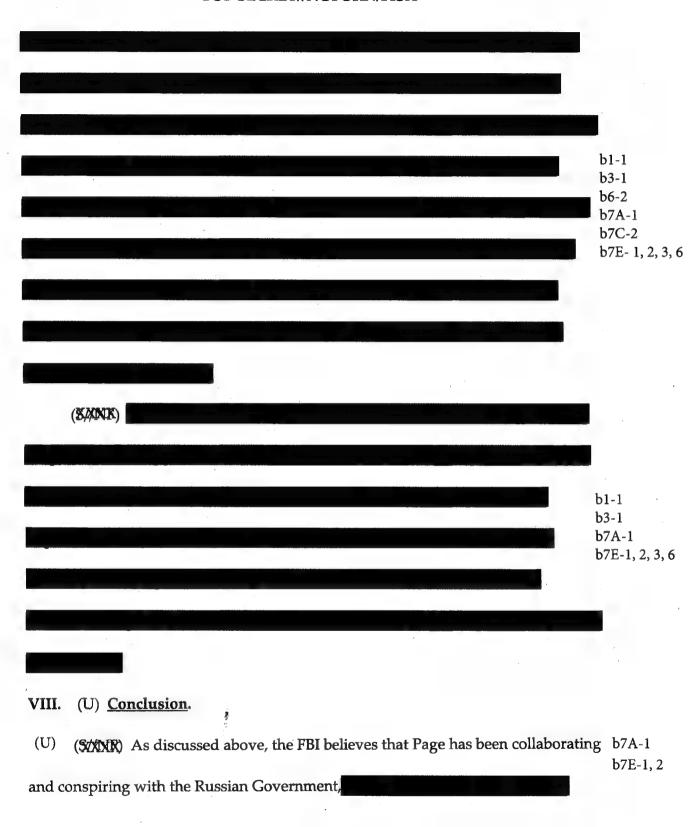


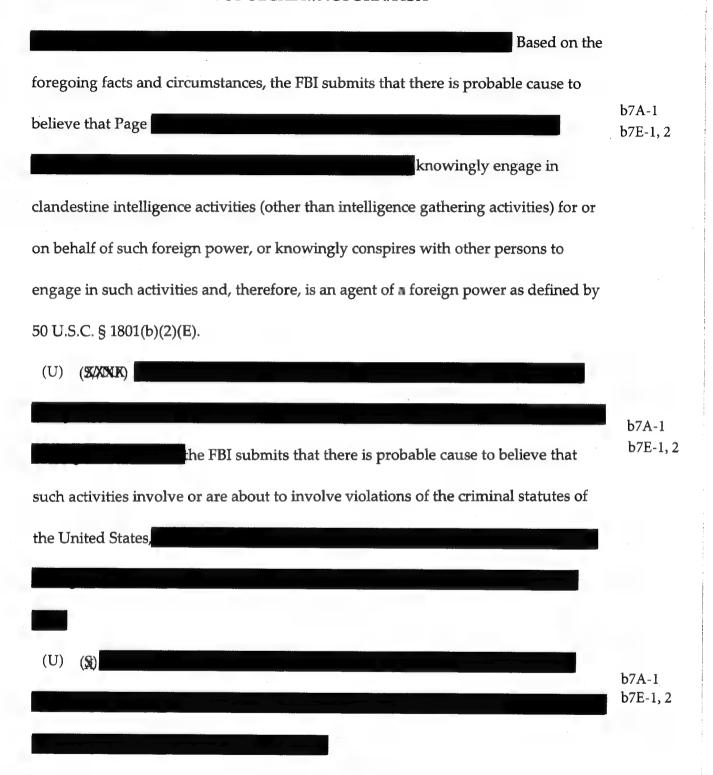






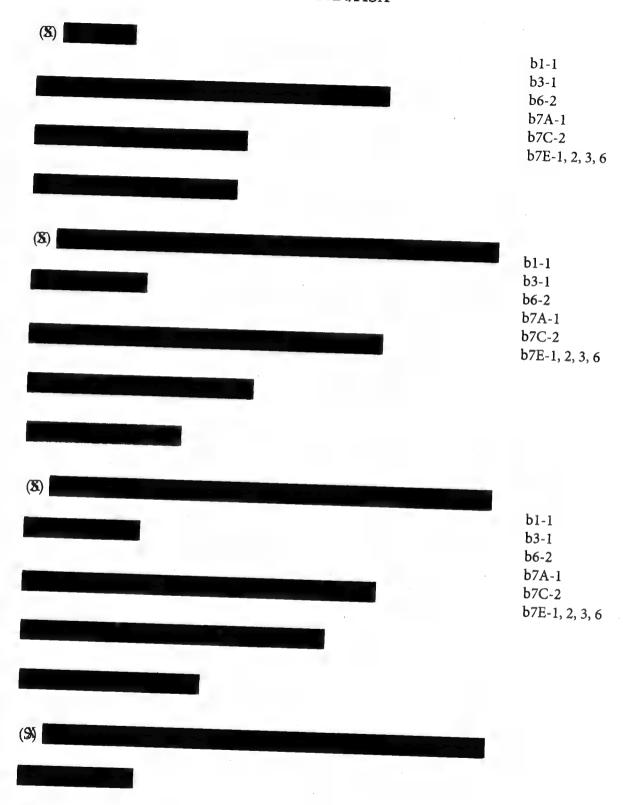


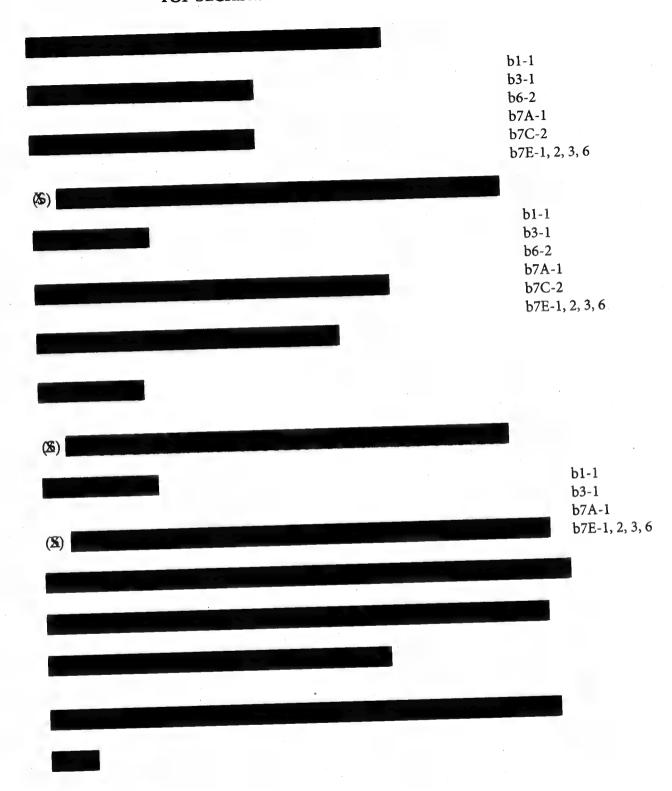




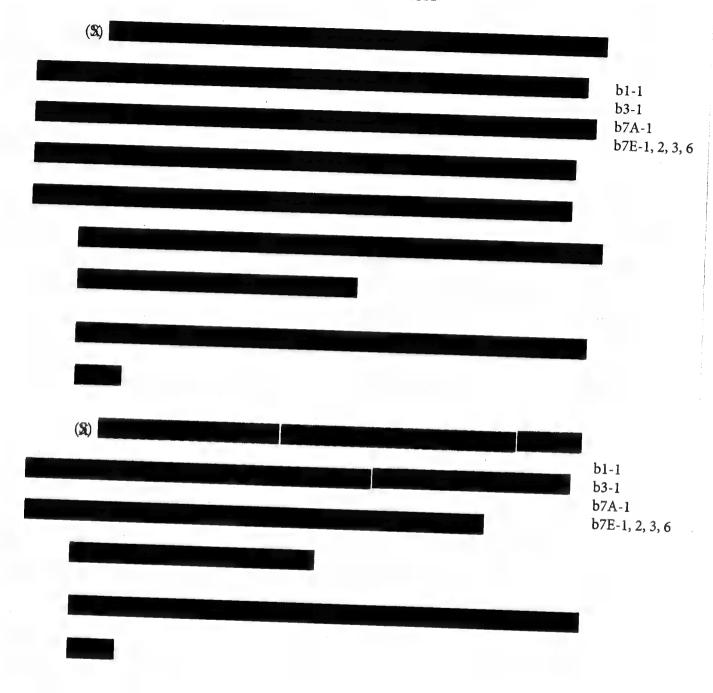


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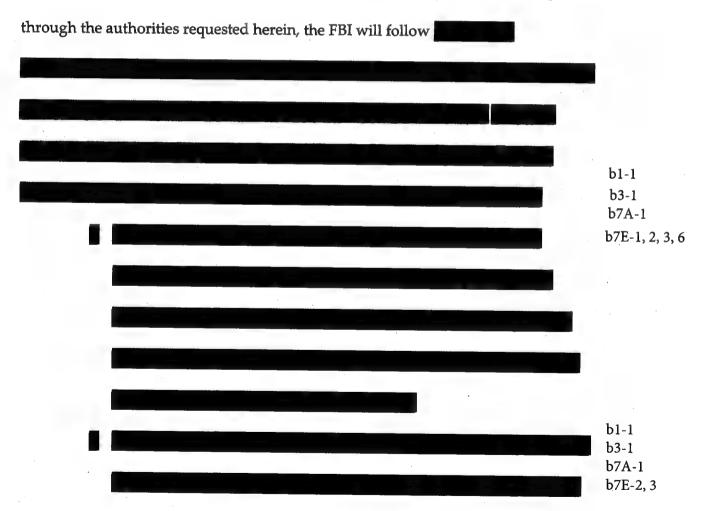


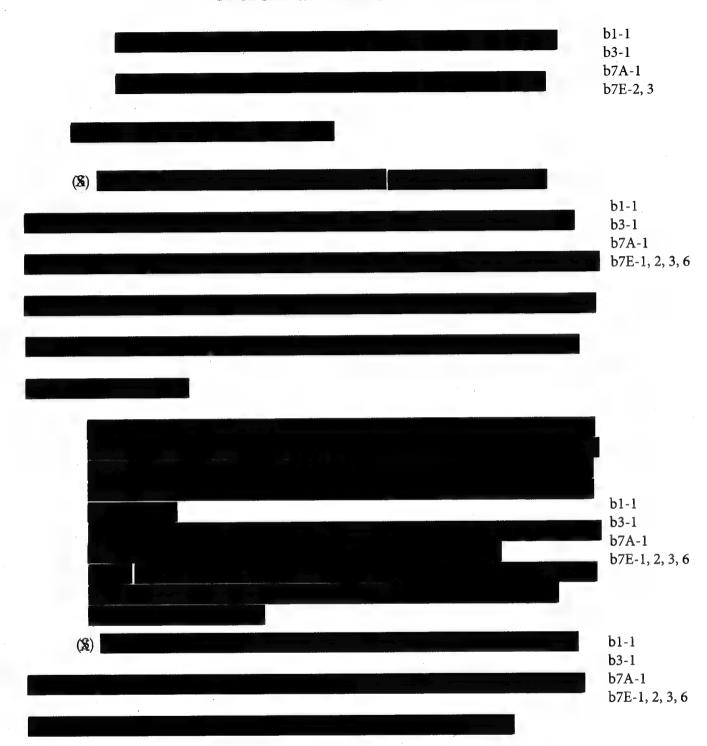
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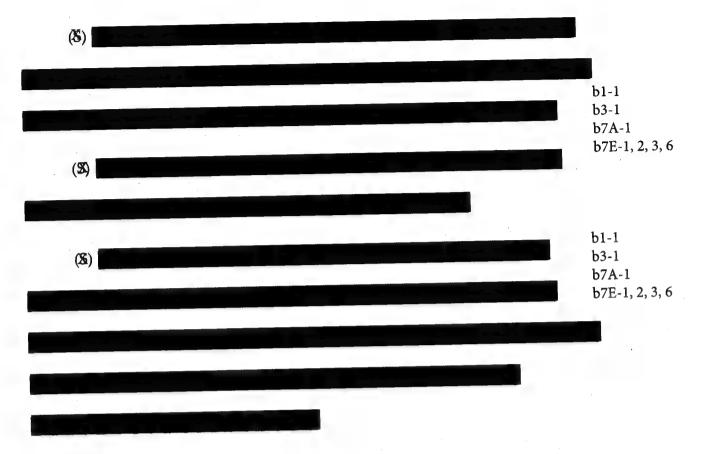




4. (3) Proposed Minimization Procedures As to all information acquired

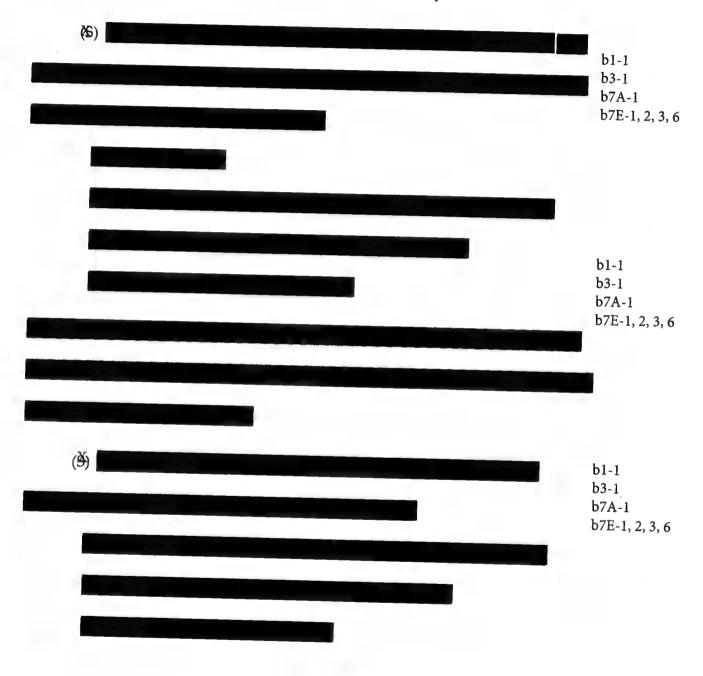


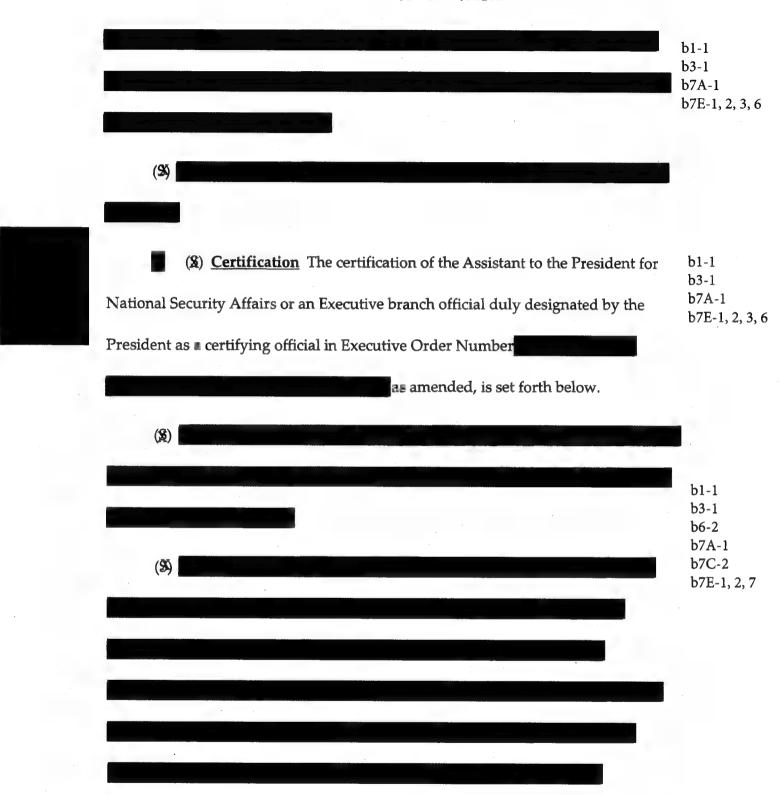




requested herein, the United States is seeking foreign intelligence information with b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 respect to the activities of the target described above and detailed further in the certification set forth below. As indicated by the facts set forth herein, the FBI is seeking foreign intelligence information that relates and is necessary to the ability of the United States to protect against clandestine intelligence activities by an intelligence service or network of this foreign power or by agents of this foreign power, and information with respect to \blacksquare foreign power or foreign territory that relates and is necessary to the national defense, security, and the conduct of the

foreign affairs of the United States. These same authorities may also incidentally acquire other foreign intelligence information, as defined by the Act.



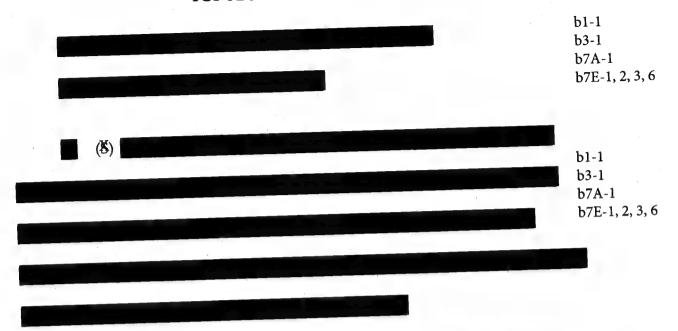


(U) The Purpose of the Authorities Requested

of this target.

(\$\structure{S}\) The FBI's foreign intelligence goals for this investigation are set forth in the certification of the Executive Branch official contained herein. However, the authorities requested in this application may produce information and material which might, when evaluated by prosecutive authorities, constitute evidence of violation of United States law, and this investigation may result in an eventual criminal prosecution of the target. Nevertheless, as discussed in the certification, at least significant purpose of this request for b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

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9. (3) Duration of the Authorities Requested (See also,

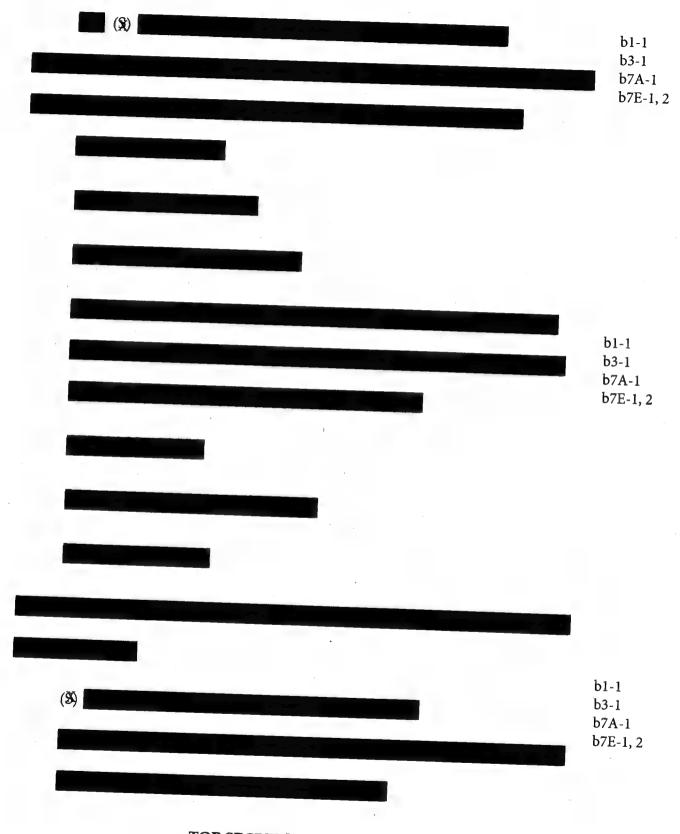
The authorities requested should not automatically terminate when foreign b3-1 b7A-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 type will be obtained on a continuous basis throughout the entire period requested.

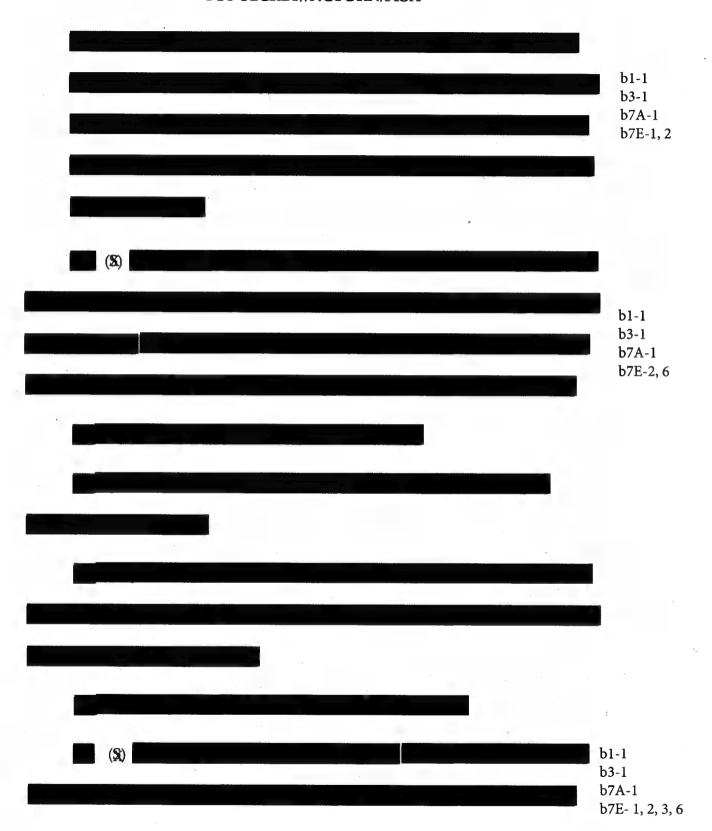
The activities which the United States must identify and monitor are incremental and continuous, and communications relating to such activities are often disguised to appear innocuous. The type of foreign intelligence information being sought and the fact that the activities of this target are ongoing preclude the conclusion that, at a given time, all such information has been obtained and collection can be ended.

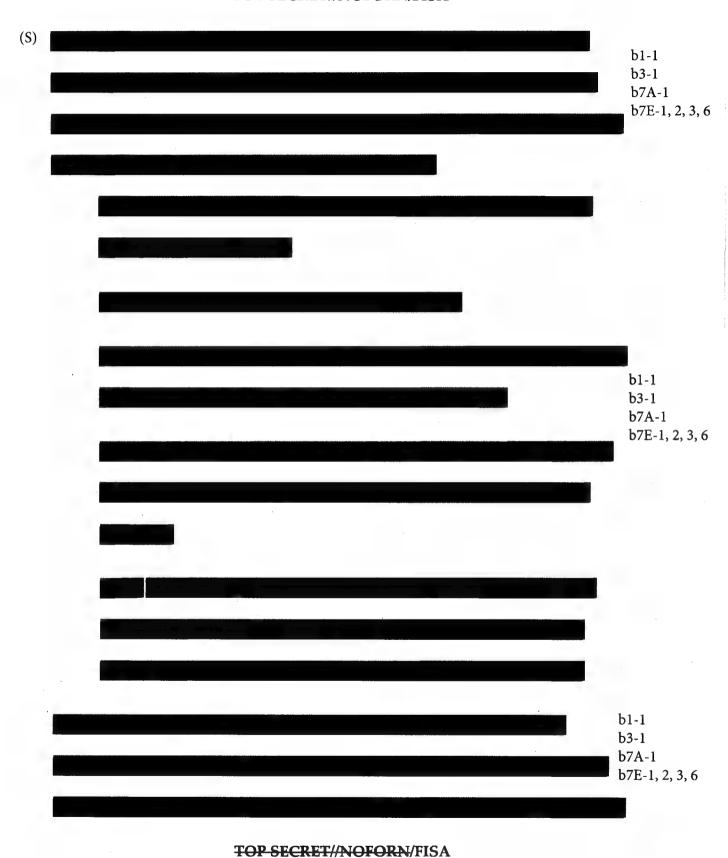
Accordingly, the United States requests the authorities specified herein for a period of ninety (90) days.

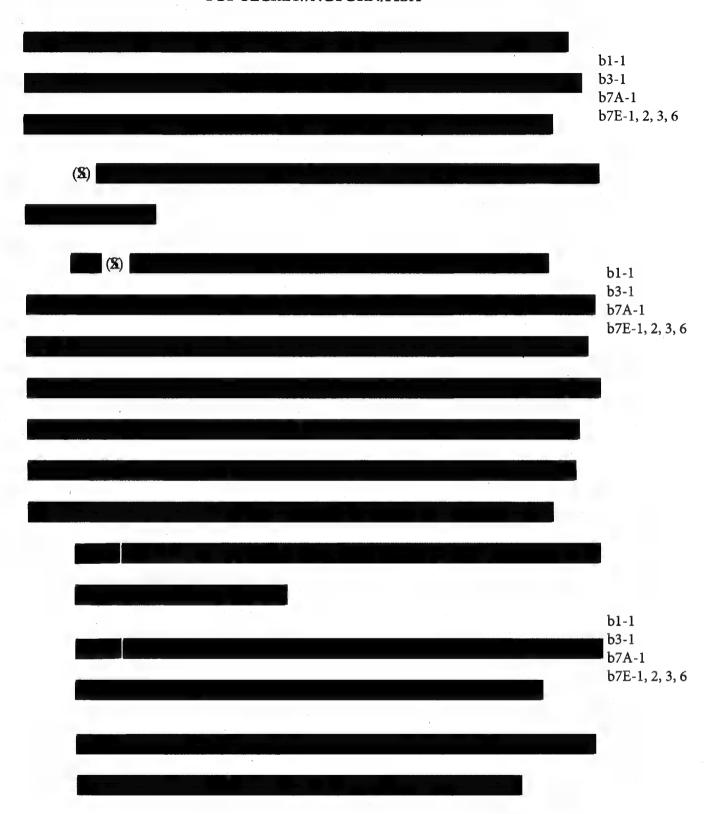
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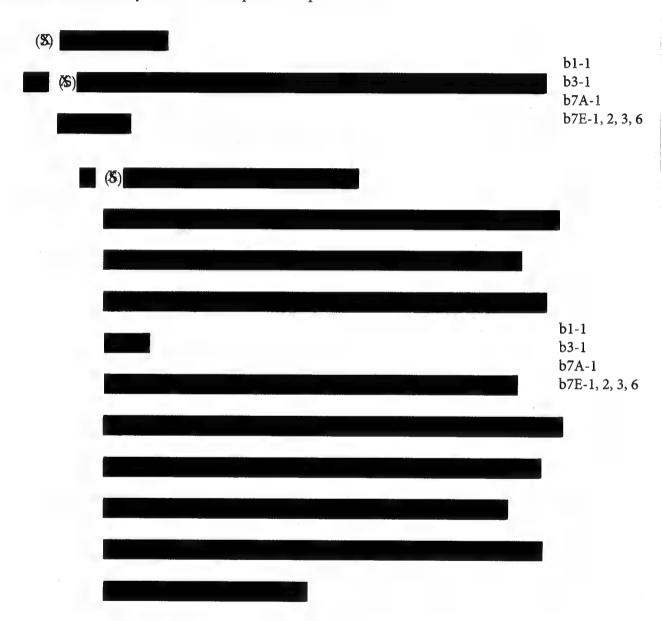


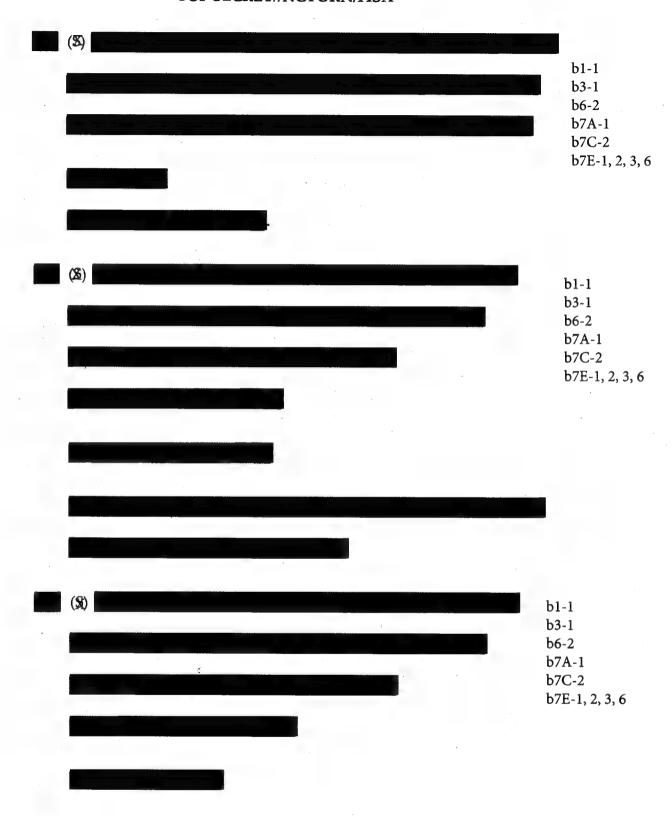


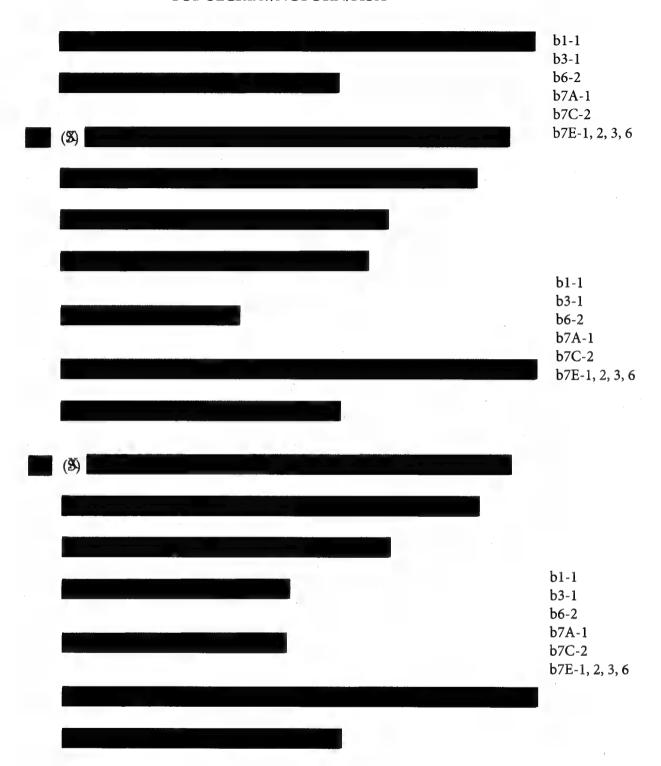


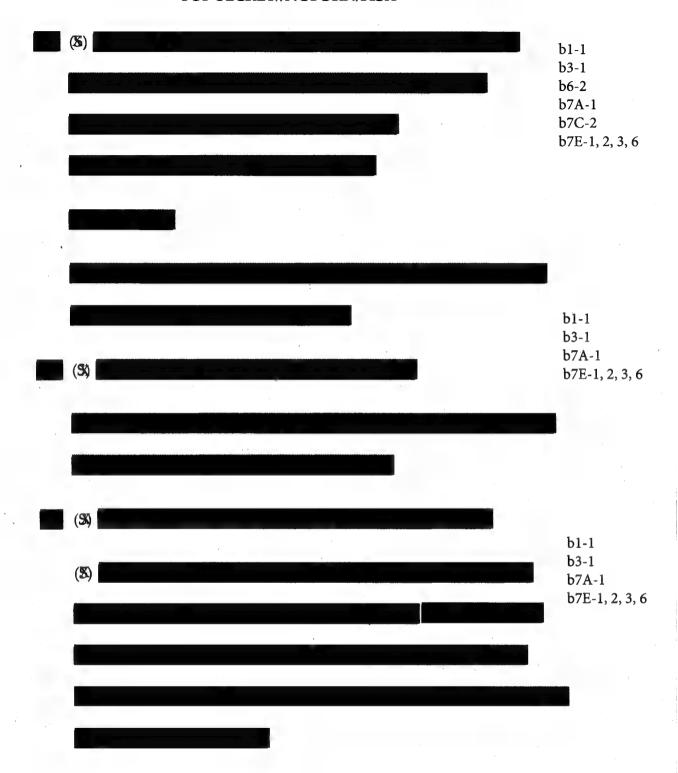


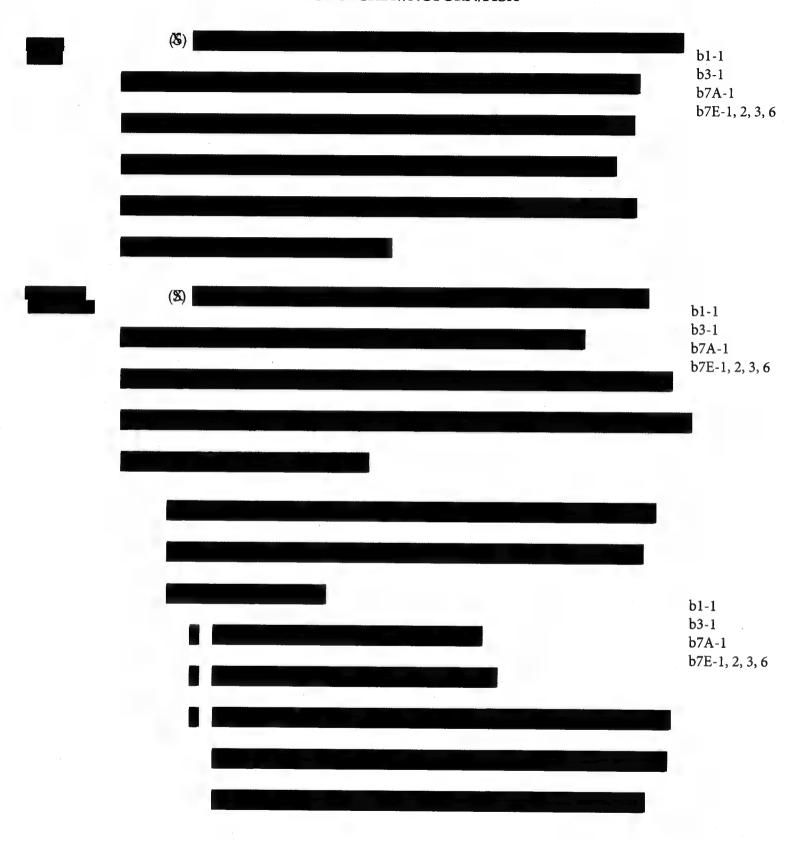
(U)(S) <u>Specific Authorities Requested</u> Based upon the foregoing information, the United States requests that this Court authorize the FBI to conduct the activities described immediately below for the period requested herein.

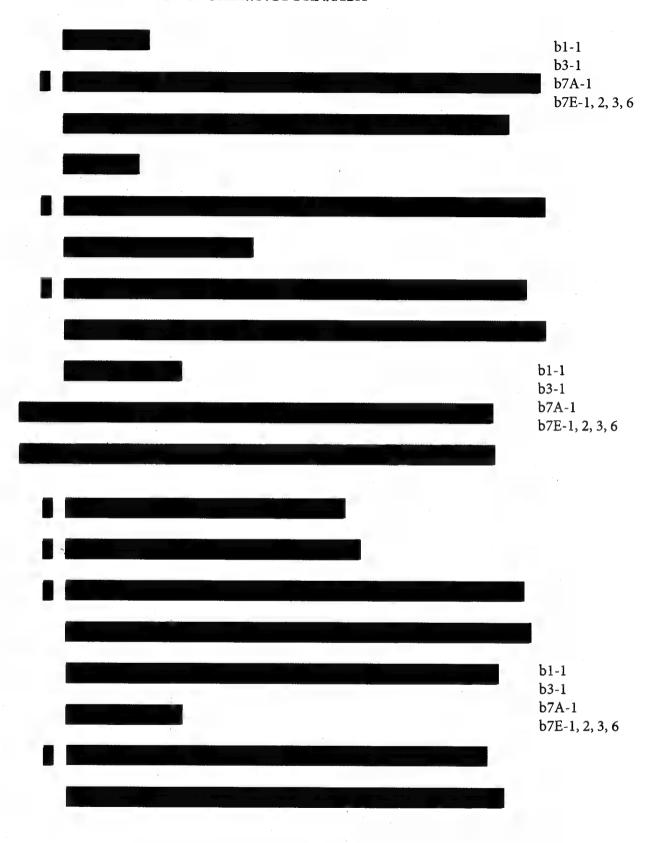












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(U) (2) The FBI has reviewed this verified application for accuracy in accordance with its April 5, 2001 procedures, which include sending copy of the draft to the appropriate field office(s). A copy of those procedures was previously provided to the Court.

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(U) VERIFICATION

(S). I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing information

regarding Carter W. Page is true and correct. Executed pursuant to Title 28, United		
States Code, § 1746 on January 2017.	b3-1 b7A-1	
	5-1 7A-1	
Supervisory Special Agent Federal Bureau of Investigation	7C-1	

I, LeeAnn Flynn Hall, Clerk, FISC, certify that this document is a true and correct copy of the original.

(U) CERTIFICATION

(X) I, the undersigned, having been designated as one of the officials authorized to make the certifications required by the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, do hereby certify with regard to the

requested in this verified application targeting

Carter W. Page, an agent of the Government of Russia, a foreign power, as follows:

b1-1 b3-1

(A) (U) The information sought through the authorities requested herein is b7A-1 b7E-1,

b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

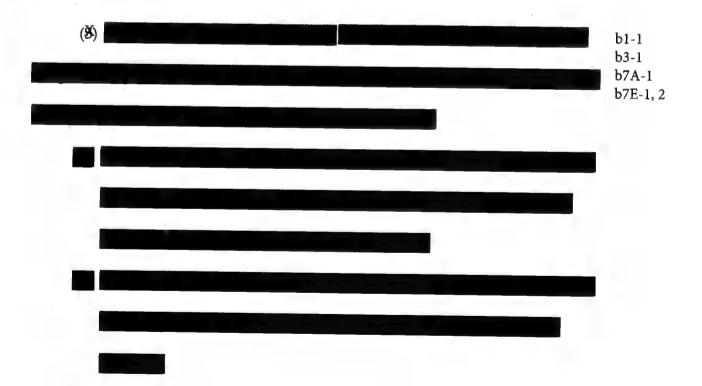
foreign intelligence information.

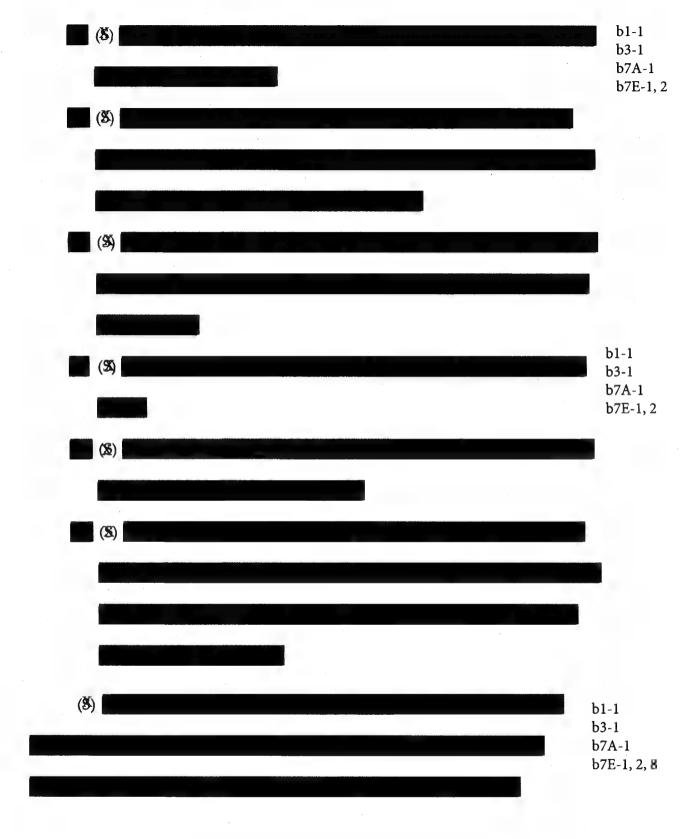
- (B) (U) At least a significant purpose of the authorities requested herein is to obtain foreign intelligence information and, notwithstanding the related criminal matters described in this application, the primary purpose of the authorities requested herein is **not** to obtain information for the prosecution of crimes other than those referred to in the Act, 50 U.S.C. § 1801(a)-(e), or related to such foreign intelligence crimes.
- (C) (U) The foreign intelligence information sought by the authorities \$b1-1\$ by the authorities b1-1 by the authorit
- (U) (D) (S) The type of foreign intelligence information being sought through the authorities requested herein is that described in 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e)(1)(C), i.e.,

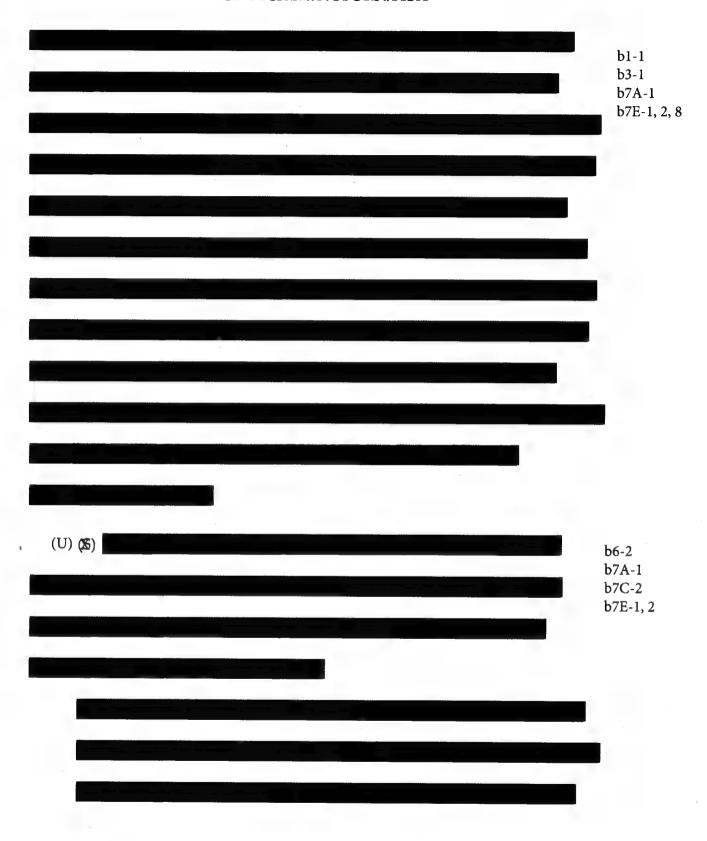
information that relates and is necessary to the ability of the United States to protect against clandestine intelligence activities by an intelligence service or network of this foreign power or by agents of this foreign power, and 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e)(2)(A)-(B), i.e., information with respect to ■ foreign power or foreign territory that relates and is necessary to the national defense or security, and the conduct of the foreign affairs of the United States. These same authorities may also incidentally acquire foreign intelligence information as defined by other subsections of 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e).

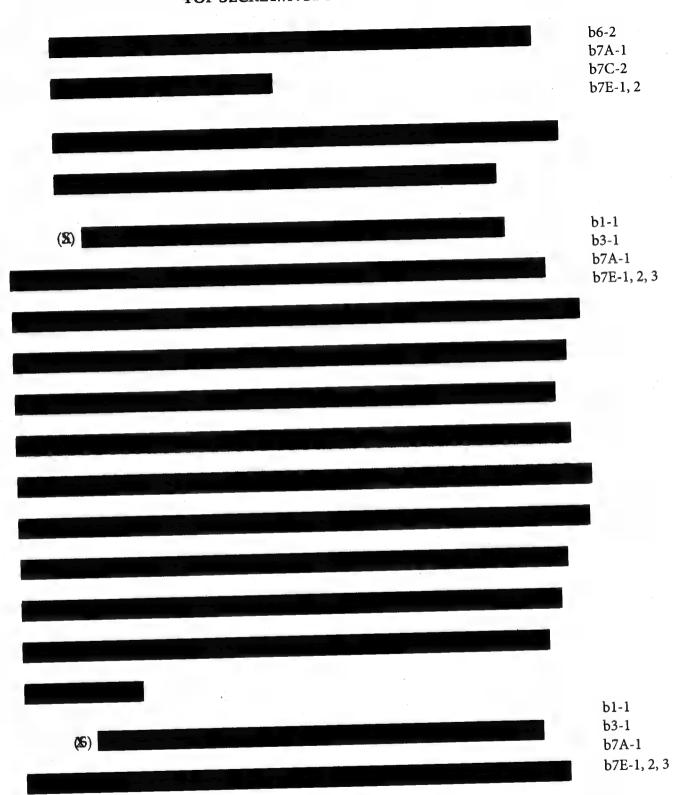
(E) (S) The basis for my certification that the information sought is the type

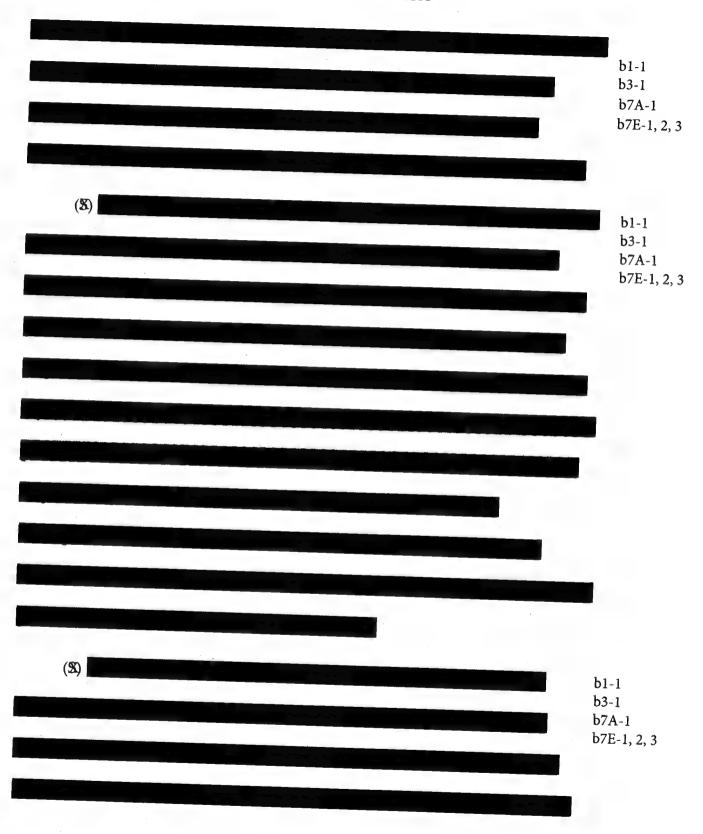
of foreign intelligence information specified herein and that such information cannot b7A-1
b7A-1
b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
be obtained by normal investigative techniques is as follows.



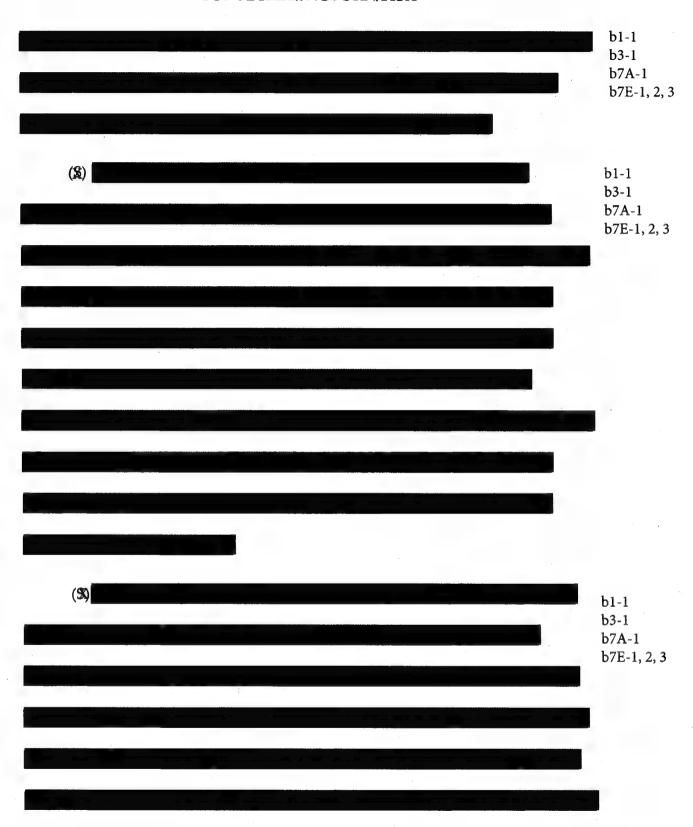








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(U) (§) Based upon the foregoing information, it is the Government's belief that the authorities requested herein targeting Page are critical investigative means for obtaining the foreign intelligence information identified herein.

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(S) Accordingly, I execute this certification regarding Carter W. Page in accordance with the requirements of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended.

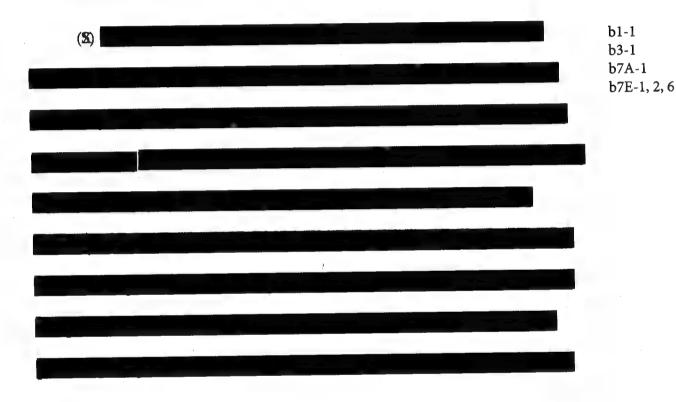
James B. Comey Director Federal Bureau of Investigation	John F. Kerry Secretary of State
Andrew G. McCabe Deputy Director Federal Bureau of Investigation	Antony J. Blinken Deputy Secretary of State
John O. Brennan Director of the Central Intelligence Agency	Ash Carter Secretary of Defense
James R. Clapper, Jr. Director of National Intelligence	Susan E. Rice Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
Stephanie O'Sullivan Principal Deputy Director of National Intelligence	
17 17 Date	b1 b3 b7

I. LeeAnn Flynn Hall, Clerk, FISC, TOP SECRET//NOFORN/FISA certify that this document is

a true and correct copy
of the original.

(U) APPROVAL

(U) (3) I find that this application regarding Carter W. Page satisfies the criteria and requirements for such applications set forth in the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, and hereby approve its filing with this Court.



W. Page with the	Court,	b1-1 b3-1 b7A b7E
	Loretta E. Lynch Attorney General of the United States Sally Quillian Yates Deputy Attorney General of the United States	
17 Date	Assistant Attorney General for National Security	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1

I, LeeAnn Flynn Hall, Clerk, FISC, certify that this document is a true and correct copy of the original.

(U) (S) WHEREFORE, the United States submits that this application regarding Carter W. Page satisfies the criteria and requirements of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, and therefore requests that this Court authorize the activities described herein, and enter the proposed orders and warrants which accompany this application.

Respectfully submitted,	
	b6-3 b7A-1
Attorney	b7C-3
U.S. Department of Justice	

I, LeeAnn Flynn Hall, Clerk, FISC, certify that this document is true and correct copy of the original.

Classify By: J23J98T32
Reason: (C)
Derived From: FBI NSICG, dated 01
Declassify On:

All information is considered

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Filad United States Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court

All information is considered unclassified except where otherwise shown.

UNITED STATES

JAN 2017

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LeeAnn Flynn Hall, Clerk I Court

h74 1

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SURVEILLANCE COURT

b7A-1

WASHINGTON, D. C.

IN RE CARTER W. PAGE, A U.S.

-2017

Docket Number:

PERSON

b1-1 b3-1

b7A-1

PRIMARY ORDER AND WARRANT

1. An application having been made by the United States of America pursuant to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, 50 U.S.C. §§ FISA or the Act), for an order and warrant (hereinafter "order") for and full consideration having been given to the matters set forth therein, the Court finds follows:

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b3-1

b7A-1

b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

 The application has been made by ■ Federal officer and approved by the Attorney General;



3. On the basis of the facts submitted in the verified application, there is probable cause to believe that:

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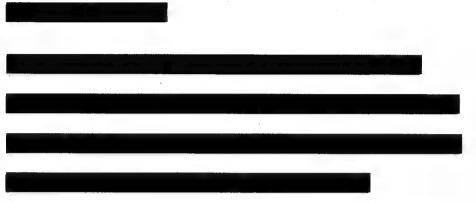
Application to the USFISC

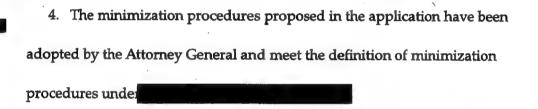
in Docket Number captioned above

Declassify on:

b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1

(A) The Government of the Russian Federation (Russia) is a foreign power and Carter W. Page is an agent of Russia, as defined by





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b7A-1 b7E-1, 2

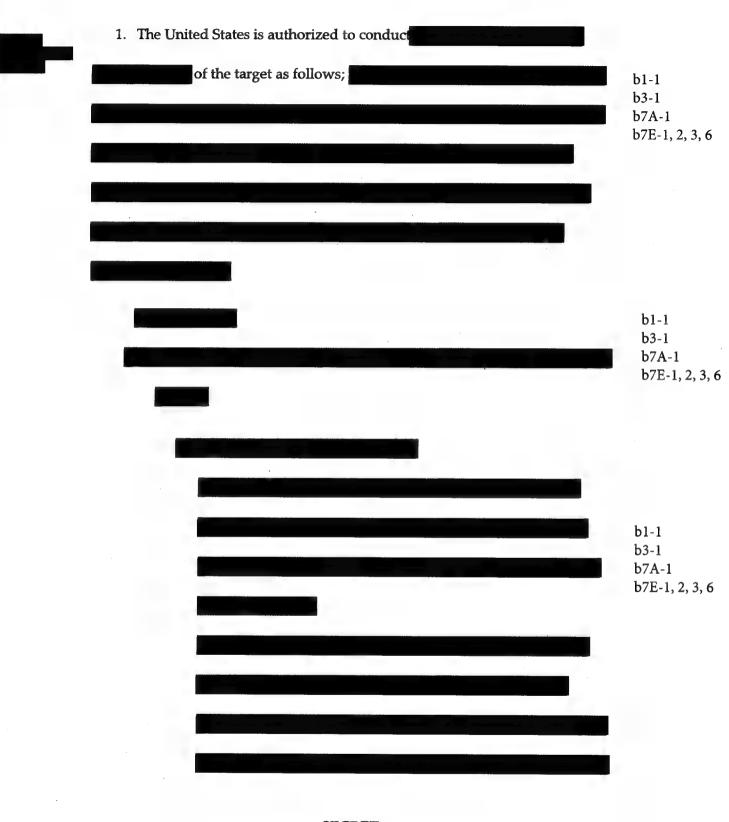
5. The application contains all statements and certifications required by

and the certification is not clearly erroneous on the basis b1-1 b3-1 of the statements made under b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 any other information furnished under b7A-1 b7B-1 b7B-1

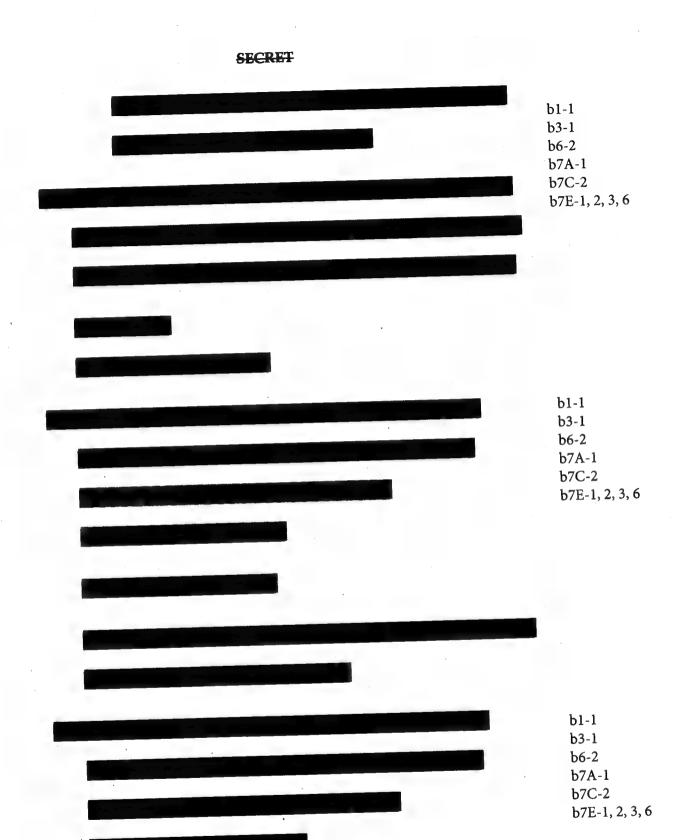
WHEREFORE, IT IS HEREBY ORDERED, pursuant to the authority conferred on this Court by the Act, that the application of the United States is GRANTED, and it is

FURTHER ORDERED, as follows:

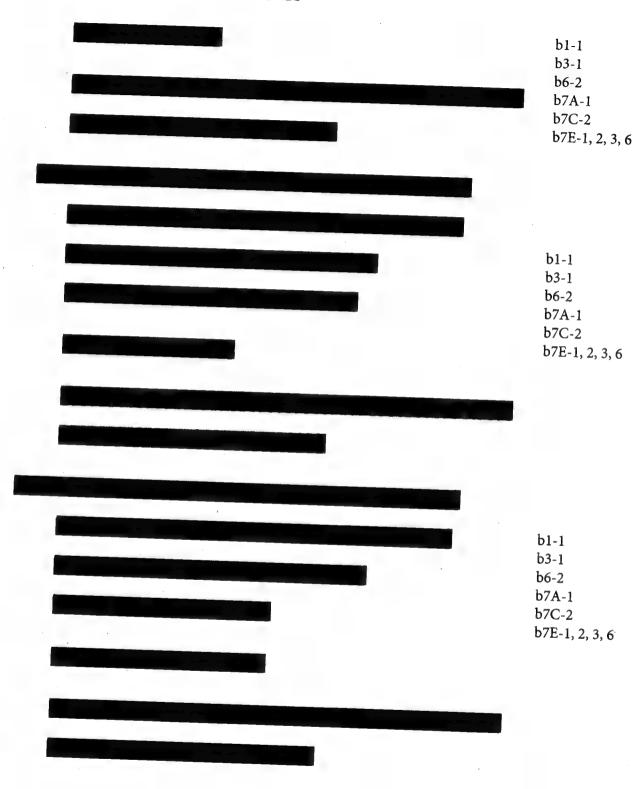
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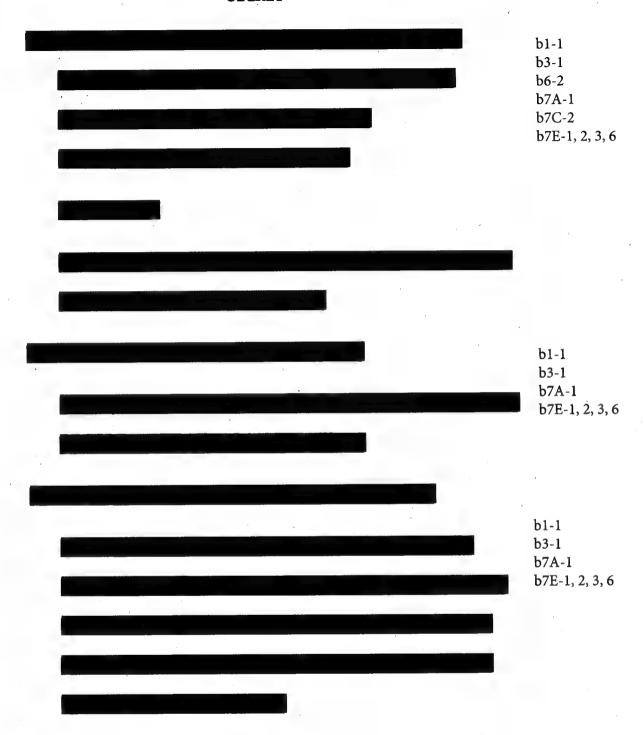


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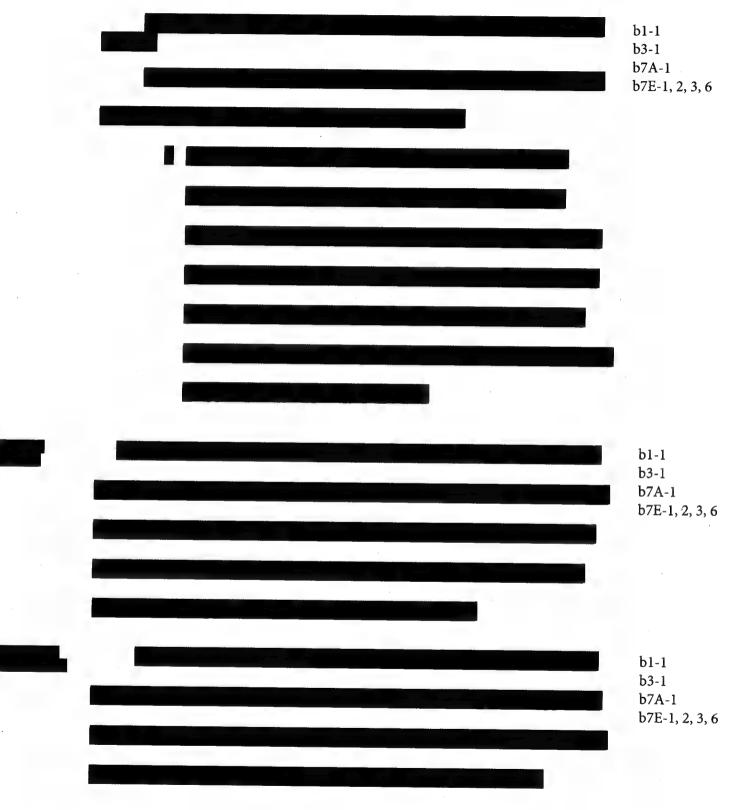


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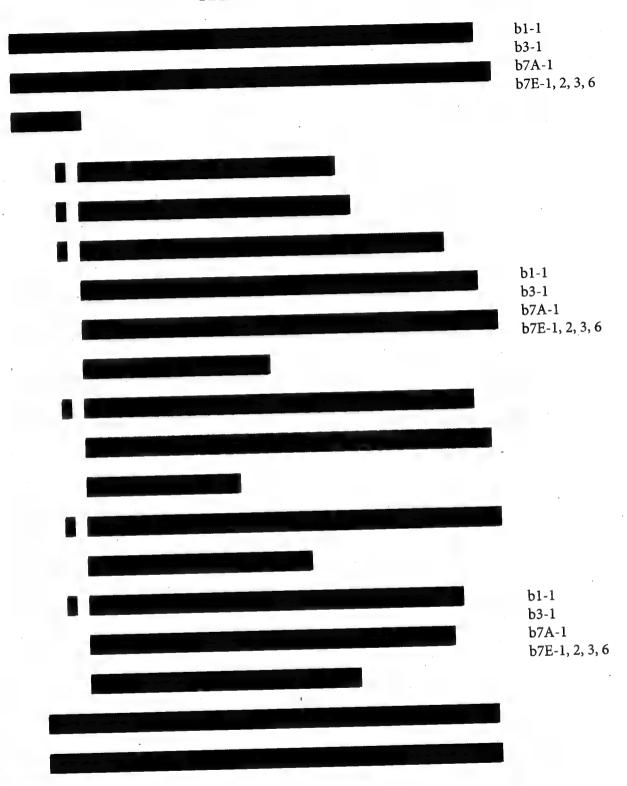


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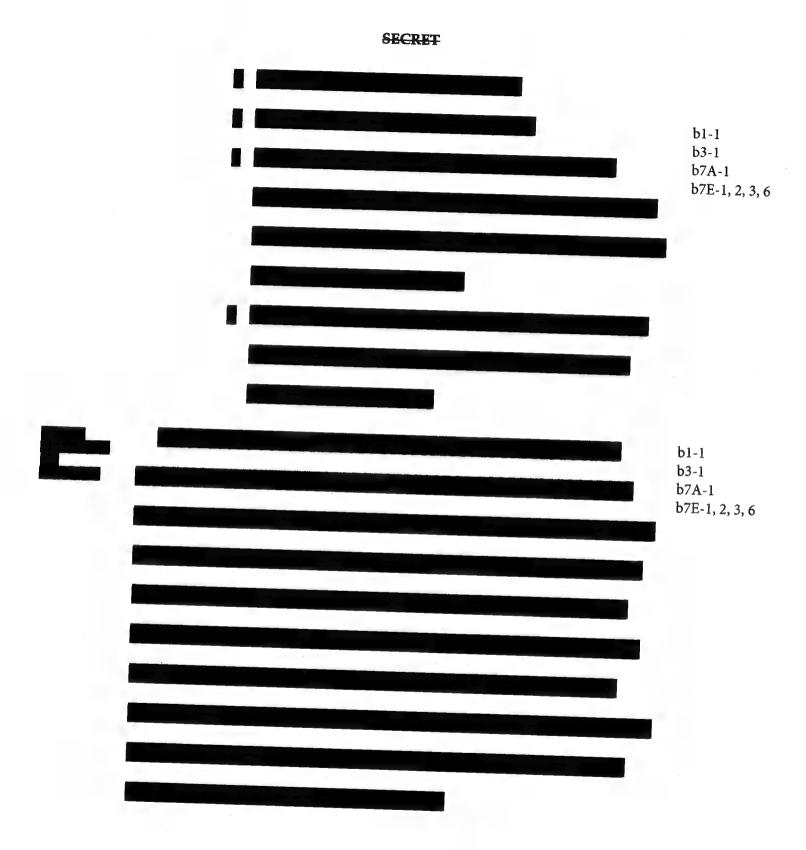
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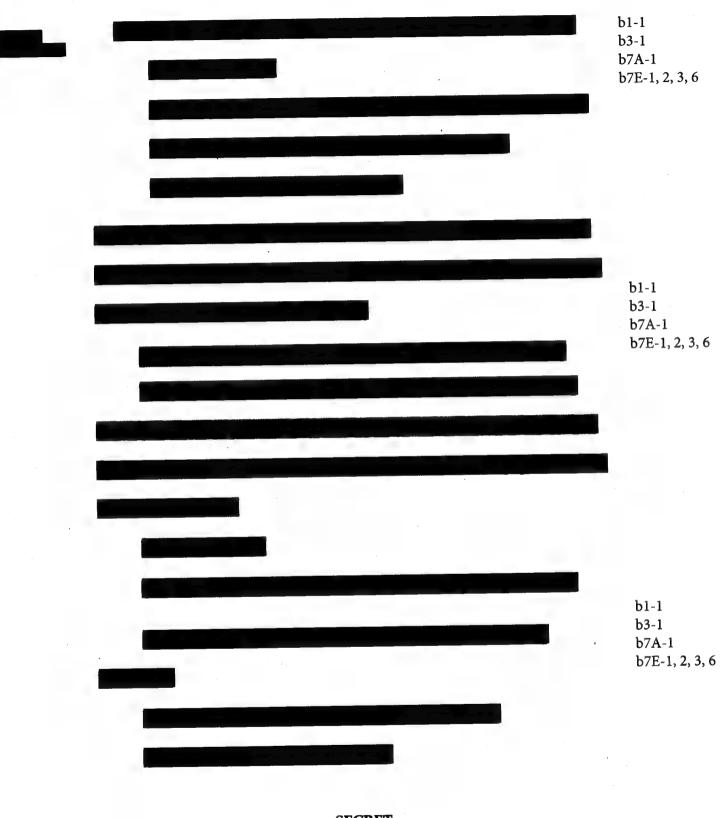
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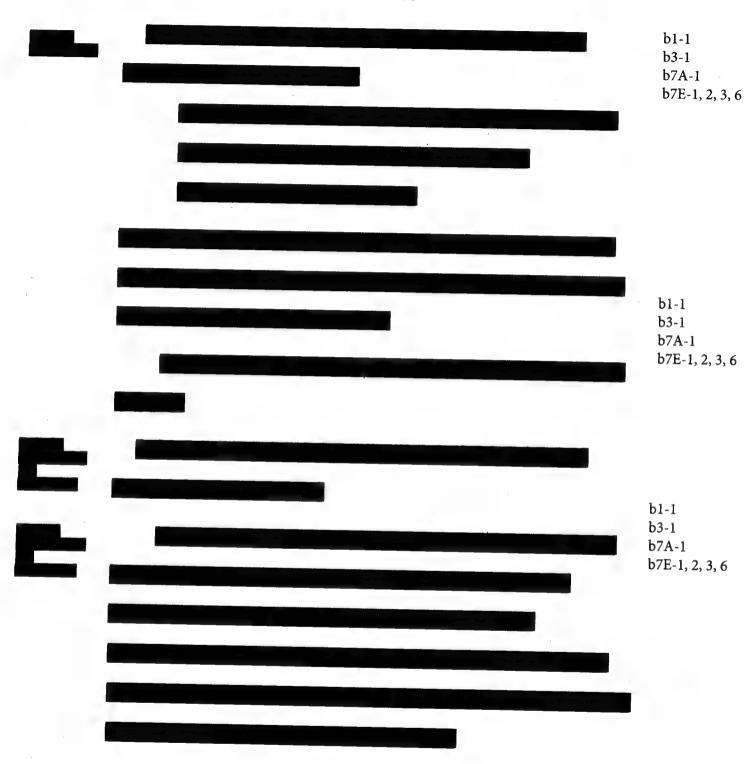


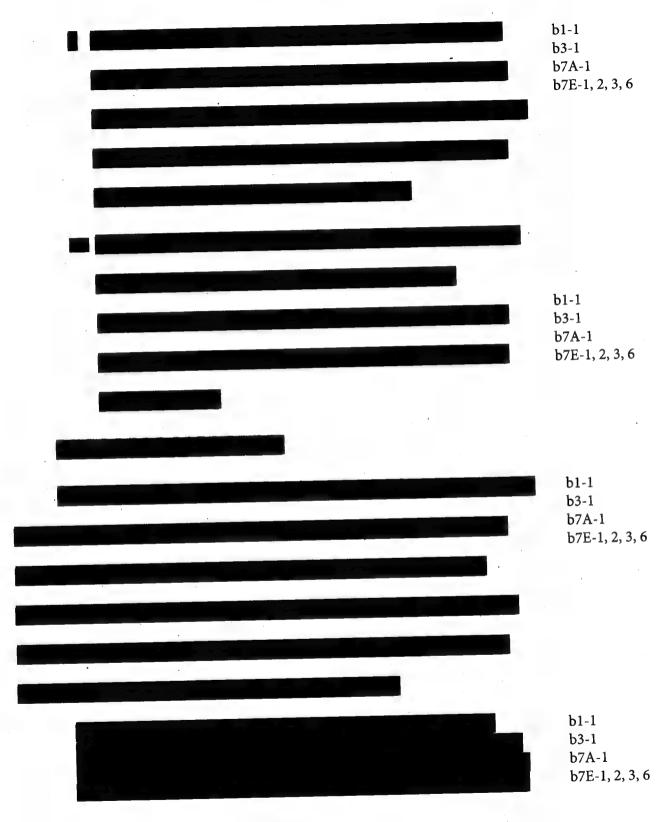


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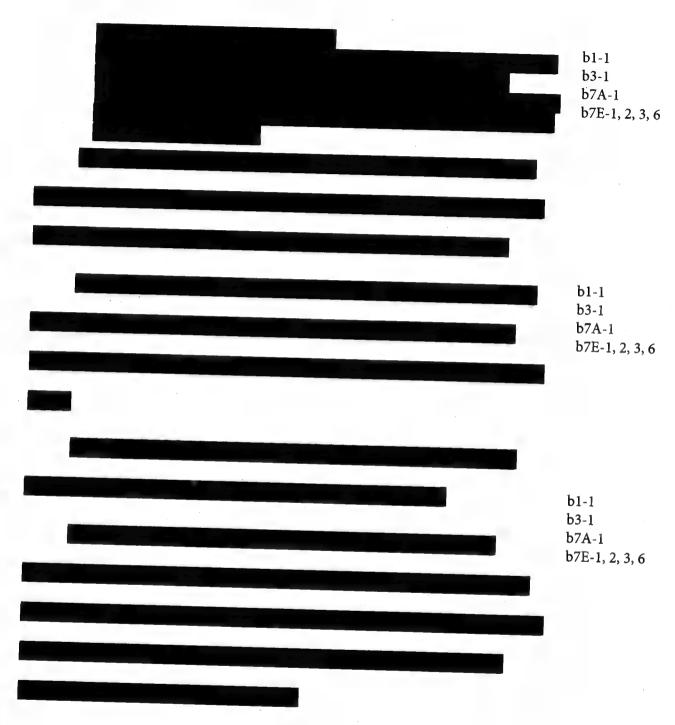




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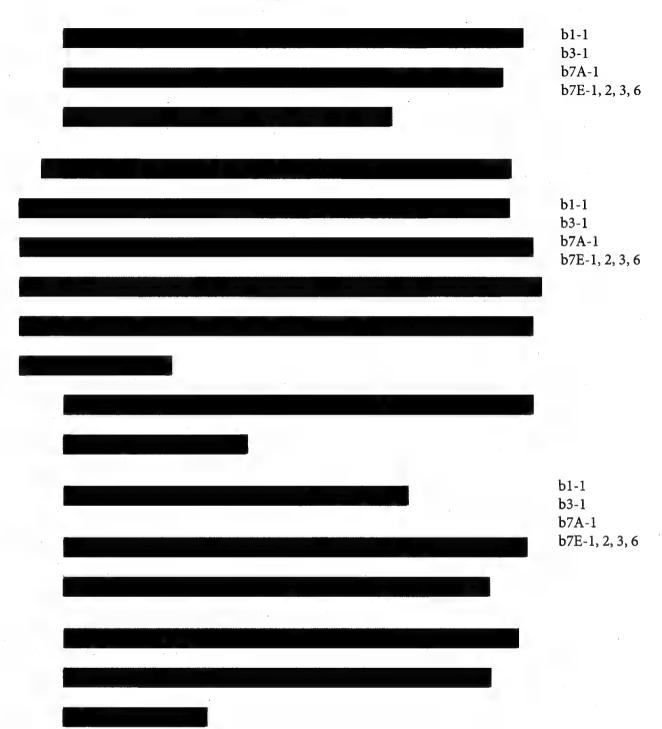
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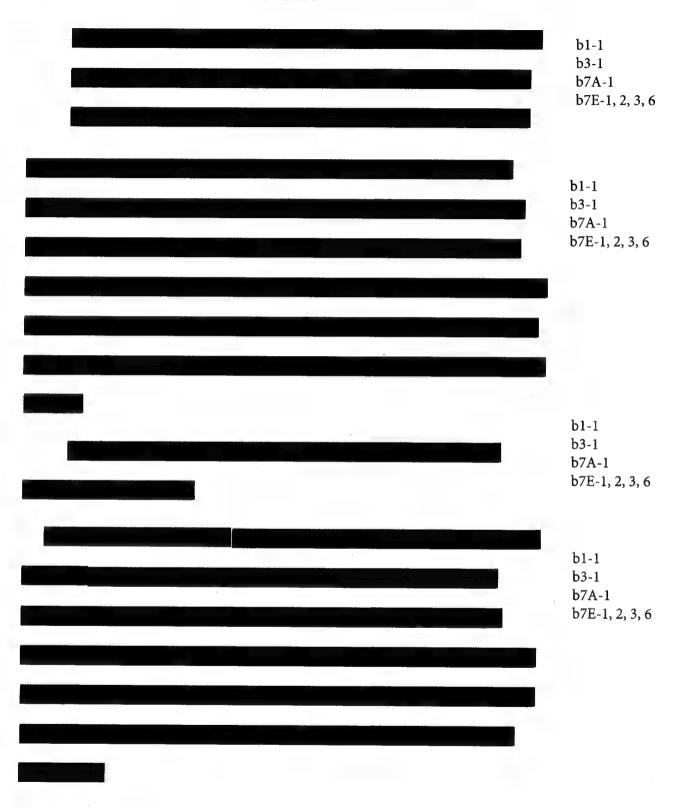
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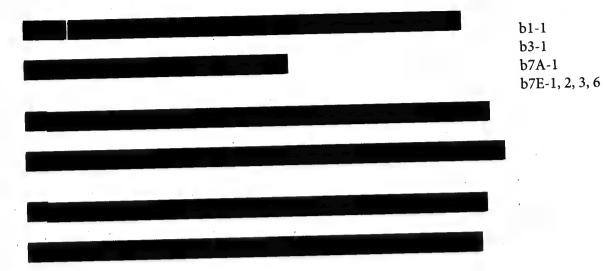
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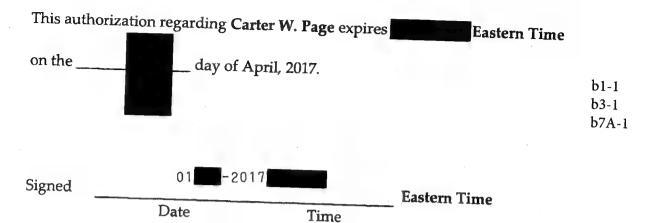
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MICHAEL W. MOSMAN Judge, United States Foreign

Intelligence Surveillance Court

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b7C-3

All information is considered
unclassified except where
otherwise shown

UNITED STATES

b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1

Classify By: J23J98T32

Reason: (C)

Derived From: FBI NSICG, dated FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SURVEILLANCE COURT AND APPROPRIES.

2017 Declassify On:

WASHINGTON, D.C.

CLERK OF COURT

(6) IN RE CARTER W. PAGE, A U.S.

PERSON.

Docket Number:

b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1

(U) VERIFIED APPLICATION

(S) The United States of America hereby applies to this Court for authority to conduc as described herein, pursuant b1-1 b3-1 to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, Title 50, United b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 States Code (U.S.C.), §§ FISA or the Act).



(U) Identity of Federal Officer Making Application This application is

b1-1 made by , a Supervisory Special Agent (SSA) of the Federal Bureau b3-1 b6-1 of Investigation (FBI) whose official duties at FBI Headquarters include supervision b7A-1 b7C-1 of the FBI's investigation of the above-captioned target based upon information b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 officially furnished to

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Classified by: b1-1 Derived from: b3-1 b7A-1 Declassify on:

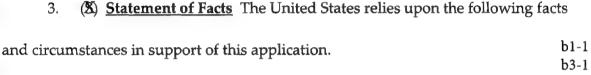
2. (X) <u>Identity of the Target</u> The target of this application is Carter W.

Page, a U.S. person, and an agent of a foreign power, described in detail below. The status of the target was determined in or about December 2016 from information provided by the U.S. Department of State.

b1-1 b3-1

b7A-1

b7E-1, 2, 3, 6



- b7A-1
- b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
- (X) The following describes the foreign power and sets forth in detail a description of the target and the target's activities for or on behalf of this foreign

a. (8) The target of this application is an agent of a foreign power.

power.

- (U) (§) This verified application reports on developments in the FBI's investigation of the above captioned target since the most recent application described herein. Unless stated otherwise herein, information presented in previous applications has been summarized or removed not because it was factually inaccurate but in order to create a more concise document.
- (U) (S) The Government of the Russian Federation is a foreign power as defined by 50 U.S.C. § 1801(a)(1).

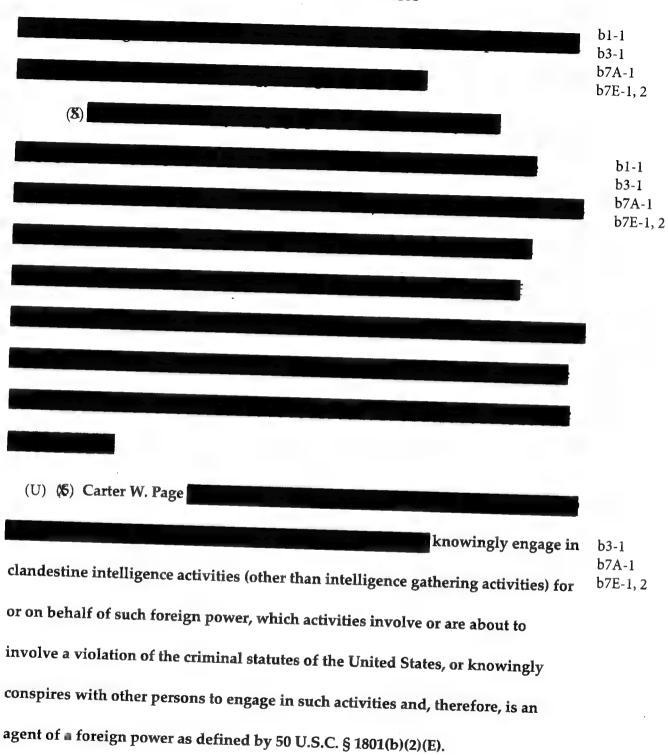
(U) (S) The Government of the Russian Federation (Russia) is an internationally recognized foreign government and, as of the execution of this application, is listed in the Diplomatic List, published by the United States Department of State, and in Permanent Missions to the United Nations, published by the United Nations, and its establishments in the United States are components thereof.

(U) (X) Clandestine Intelligence Activities Of The Russian Federation

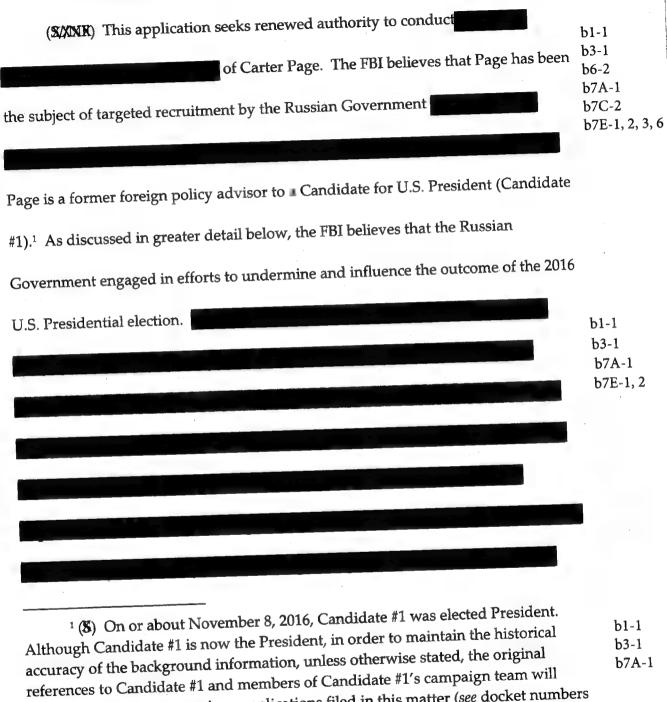
(B)

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I. (U) Overview.



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remain the same as in previous applications filed in this matter (see docket numbers

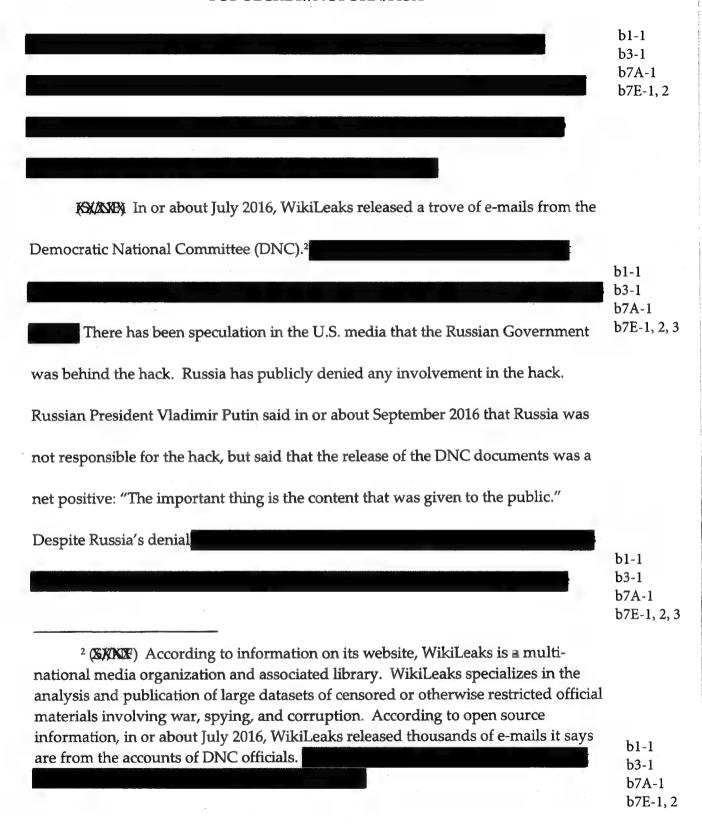


- II. (U) The FBI Believes that the Russian Government Engages in Influence Operations Against the United States.
 - (U) A. XXXXF) RIS Efforts to Influence U.S. Presidential Elections.

organization, the then Director of National Intelligence (DNI) stated, "Russia has tried to influence U.S. elections since the 1960s during the Cold War" and "there's a tradition in Russia of interfering with elections, their own and others." The then DNI commented that this influence included providing money to particular candidates or providing disinformation. The then DNI added that "it shouldn't come as a big shock to people, ... I think it's more dramatic maybe because they have the cyber tools that they can bring to bear in the same effort."

have the cyber tools that they can bring to bear in the same effort."

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b3-1
b7A-1
b7E-1, 2



b3-1 b7A-1

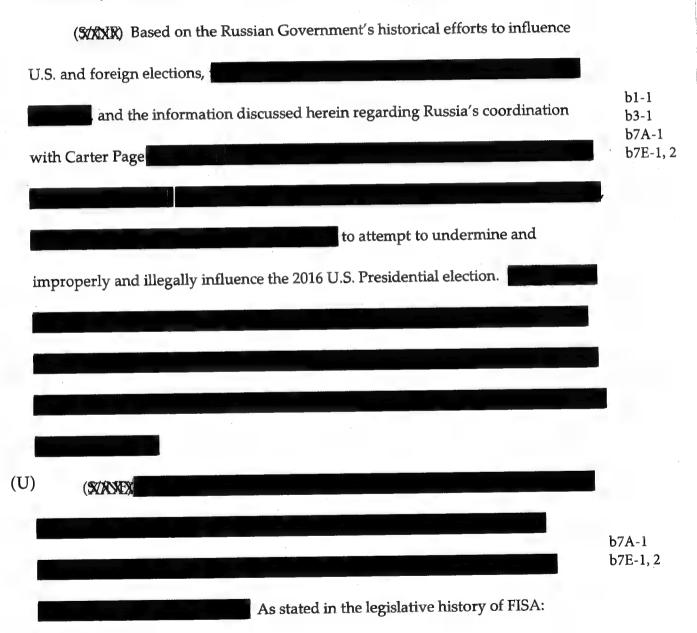
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b1-1

addition, according to an October 7, 2016 Joint Statement from the Department of

Homeland Security and the Office of the Director of National Intelligence on Election Security (Election Security Joint Statement), the USIC is confident that the Russian Government directed the recent compromises of e-mails from U.S. persons and institutions, including from U.S. political organizations. The Election Security Joint Statement states that the recent disclosures of e-mails on, among others, sites like WikiLeaks are consistent with the methods and motivations of Russian-directed efforts. According to the Election Security Joint Statement, these thefts and disclosures were intended to interfere with the U.S. election process; activity that is not new to Moscow – the Russians have used similar tactics and techniques across Europe and Eurasia, for example, to influence public opinion there. The Election Security Joint Statement stated that, based on the scope and sensitivity of these efforts, only Russia's senior-most officials could have authorized these activities. More recently, on December 29, 2016, the White House issued a statement that the U.S. President had ordered a number of actions in response to the Russian Government's aggressive harassment of U.S. officials and cyber operations aimed at the U.S. election. According to this December 29th statement, the U.S. Presidential

Administration publicized its assessment in October [2016] that Russia took actions intended to interfere with the U.S. election process and that these activities could only have been directed by the highest levels of the Russian Government [in context, this is likely a reference to the Election Security Joint Statement].



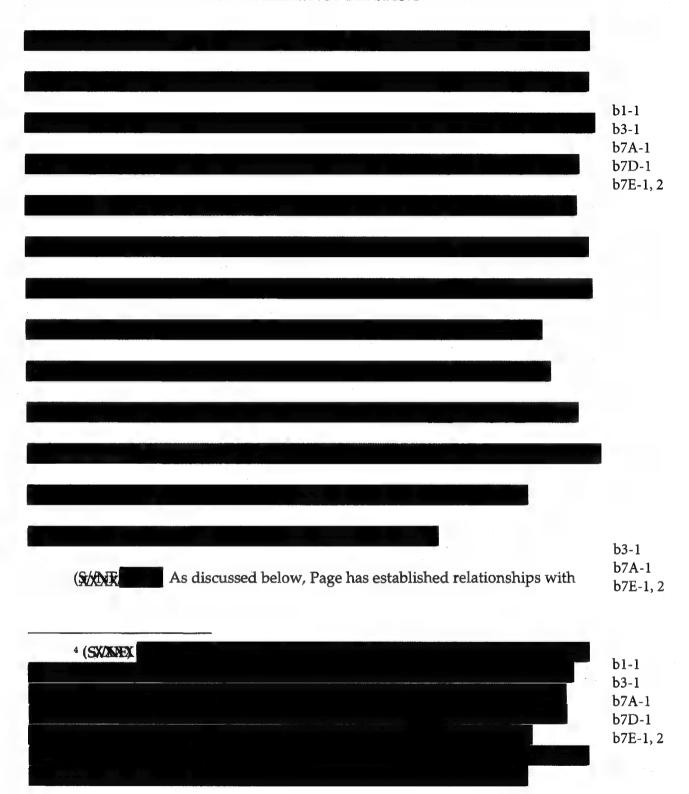
Not only do foreign powers engage in spying in the United States to obtain information, they also engage in activities which are intended to harm the Nation's security by affecting the course of our Government, the course of public opinion, or the activities of individuals. Such activities may include political action (recruiting, bribery or influencing of public officials to act in favor of the foreign power), disguised propaganda (including the planting of false or misleading articles or stories), and harassment, intimidation, or even assassination of individuals who oppose the foreign power. Such activity can undermine our democratic institutions as well as directly threaten the peace and safety of our citizens.

H.R. Rep. No. 95-1283, pt. 1, at 41 (1978).

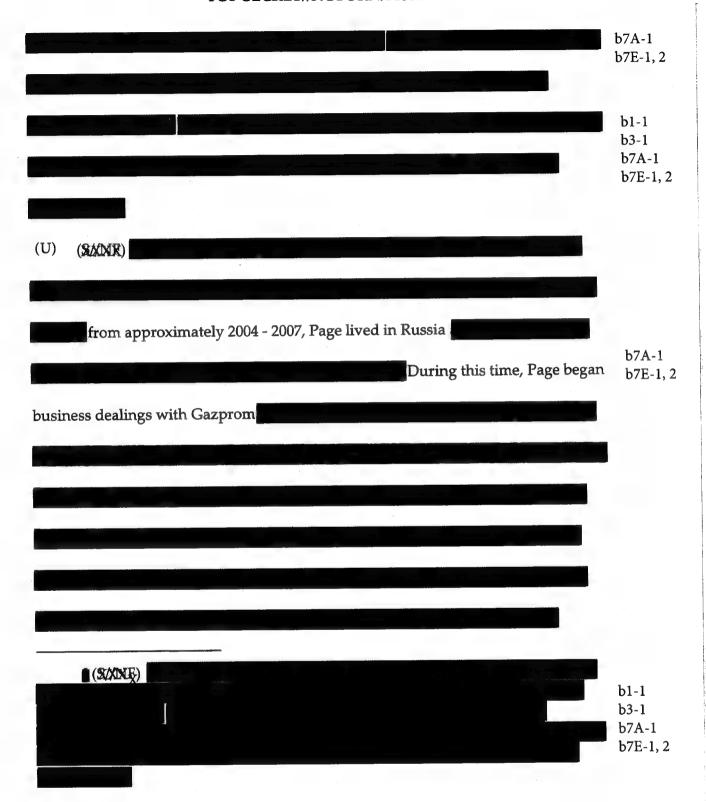
(U) B. XXXXXX The Russian Government's Coordinated Efforts to Influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election.

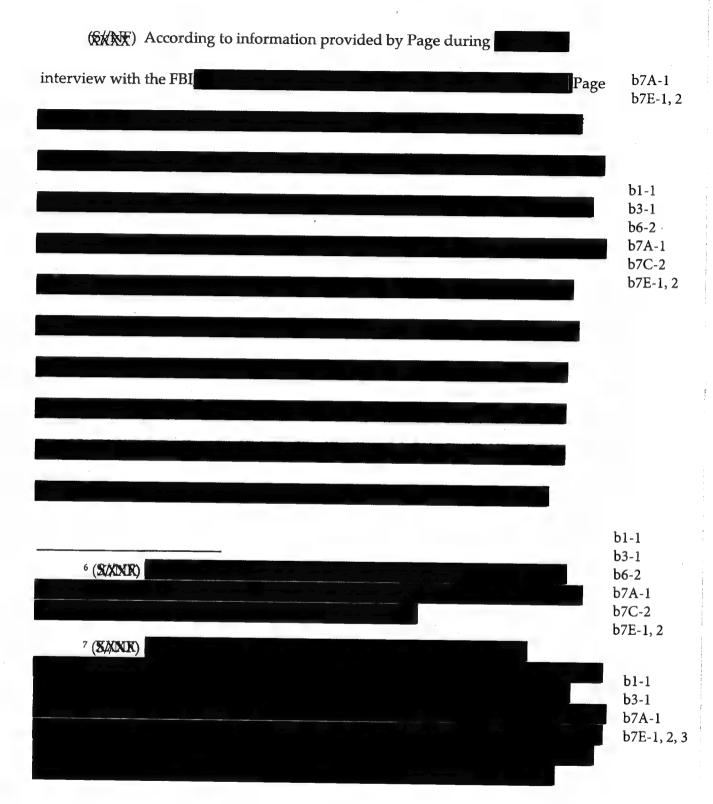
(SX/XXEX) In or about March 2016, George Papadopoulos³ and Carter Page (the

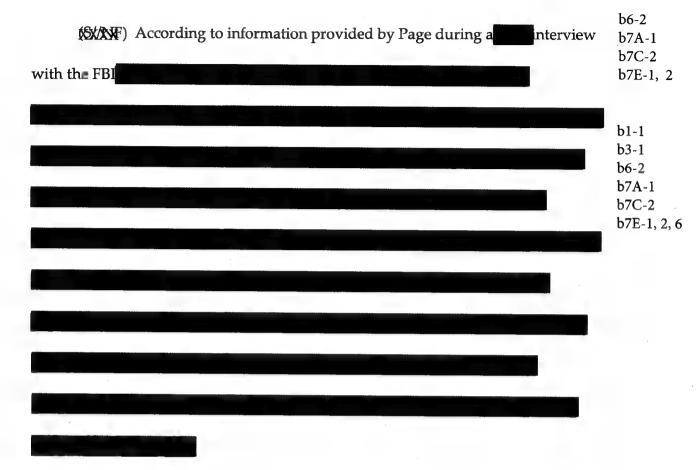
target of this application) were publicly identified by Candidate #1 as part of his/her b1-1 foreign policy team. b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2 , the FBI believes that the Russian Government's efforts to influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential election were being coordinated with Page and perhaps other individuals associated with Candidate #1's campaign. b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2 b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2



Russian Government officials, including Russian intelligence officers,	b7A-1
	b7D-1 b7E-1, 2
	b1-1
	b3-1 b7A-1
	b7E-1, 2, 3
TTI (II) (St. Carter Bage	
III. (U) (S) Carter Page. (U)	
A. (S) Page's Connections to Russia and the RIS.	
(XXXX) Page, a U.S. citizen, is the founder and managing partner of Global	
Energy Capital LLC (GEC), an investment management and advisory firm that	
focuses on the energy sector primarily in emerging markets.	
	b7A-1
	b7E-1, 2



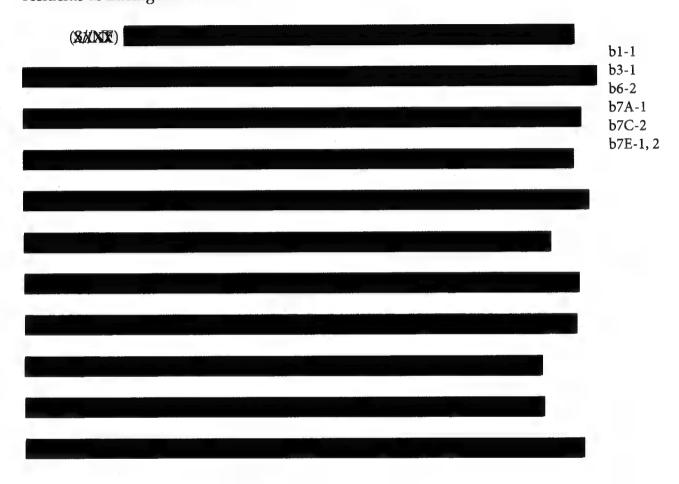




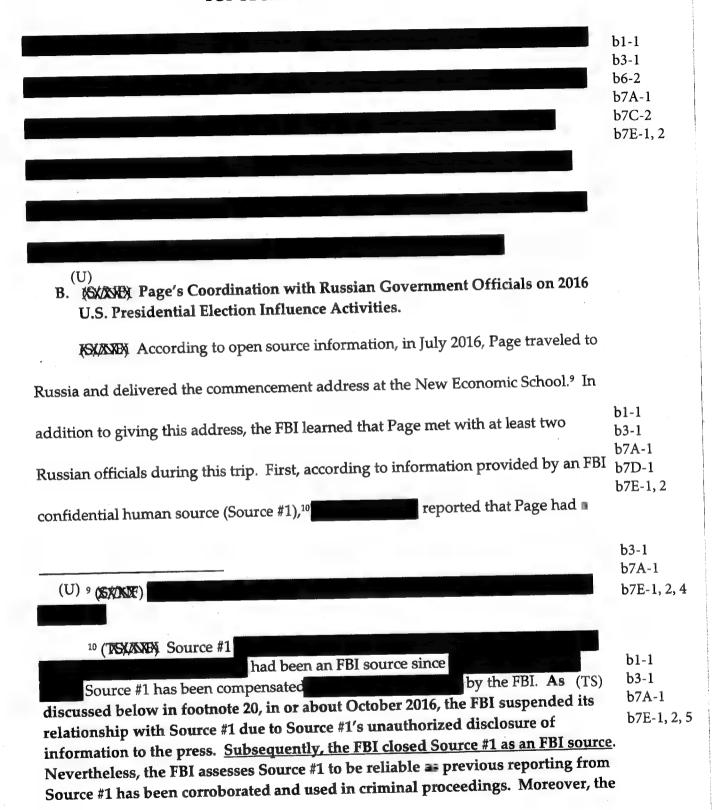
(U) (SAME) In or about January 2015, Podobnyy, along with Evgeny Buryakov and Igor Sporyshev, were charged by a sealed complaint in the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York for violations of 18 U.S.C. §§ 371 and 951 (conspiring to act, and acting as, an unregistered agent of a foreign government).

According to the complaint, Buryakov worked in the United States as an agent of the SVR. Specifically, Buryakov operated under non-official cover, posing as an employee in the Manhattan office of Russian bank. Buryakov worked with two other SVR agents, Podobnyy and Sporyshev, to gather intelligence on behalf of

Russia.⁸ The complaint states that the intelligence gathering efforts of Podobnyy and Sporyshev included, among other things, attempting to recruit New York City residents as intelligence sources for Russia.



⁽U) ⁸ (SWAF) Buryakov was arrested in or about January 2015. At the time of Buryakov's arrest, Podobnyy and Sporyshev no longer lived in the United States and were not arrested. In or about March 2016, Buryakov pled guilty to conspiring to act in the United States as an agent of Russia without providing prior notice to the Attorney General. In or about May 2016, Buryakov was sentenced to 30 months in prison. According to information provided by the Federal Bureau of Prisons, Buryakov was released on March 31, 2017.

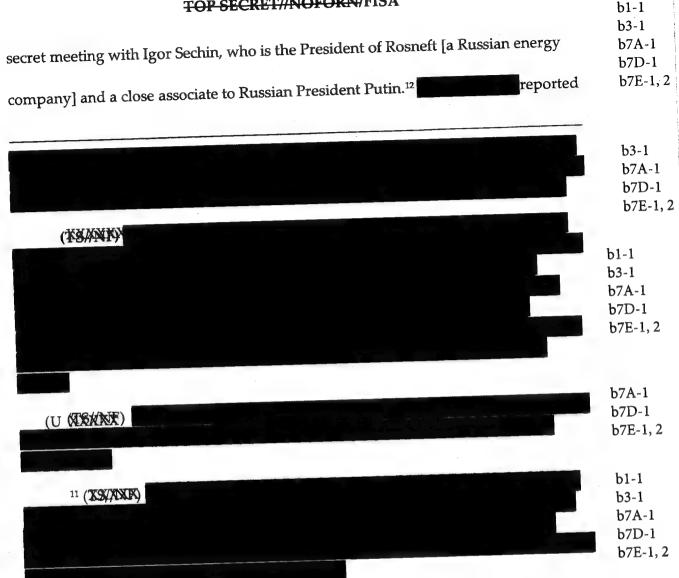


FBI notes that the incident that led the FBI to terminate its relationship with Source #1 occurred after Source #1 provided the reporting that is described herein.

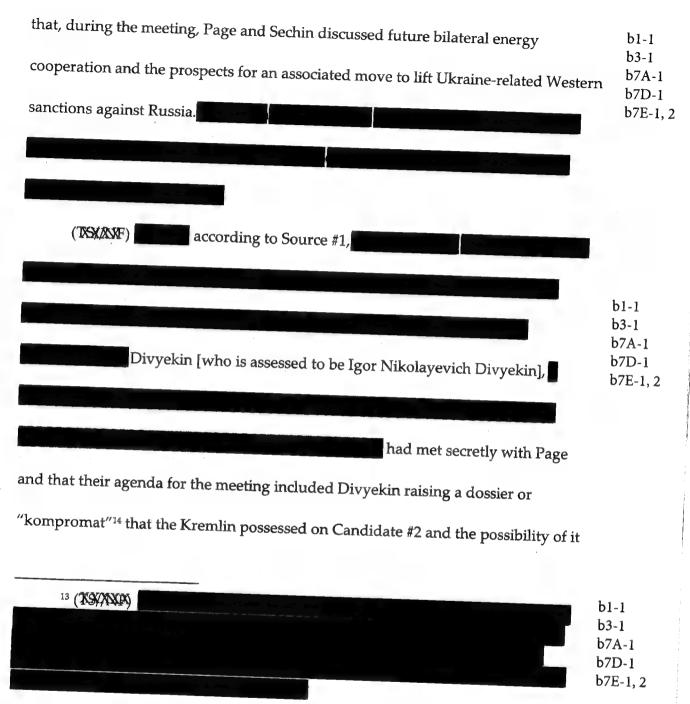
- (U) (TSKARY) Source #1, who now owns a foreign business/financial intelligence firm, was approached by an identified U.S. person, who indicated to Source #1 that U.S.-based law firm had hired the identified U.S. person to conduct research regarding Candidate #1's ties to Russia (the identified U.S. person and Source #1 have long-standing business relationship). The identified U.S. person hired Source #1 to conduct this research. The identified U.S. person never advised Source #1 as to the motivation behind the research into Candidate #1's ties to Russia. The FBI speculates that the identified U.S. person was likely looking for information that could be used to discredit Candidate #1's campaign.
- (U) KUSKANF) Source #1 tasked his sub-source(s) to collect the requisite information. After Source #1 received information from the sub-source(s) described herein, Source #1 provided the information to the identified U.S. person who had hired Source #1 and to the FBI. b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2 (YS/XXX) Notwithstanding Source #1's reason for conducting the research into Candidate #1's ties to Russia, based on Source #1's previous reporting history b1-1 with the FBI, whereby Source #1 provided reliable information to the FBI, the FBI b3-1 b7A-1 believes Source #1's reporting herein to be credible. b7D-1 b7E-1, 2 (YXXXXXX) b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1

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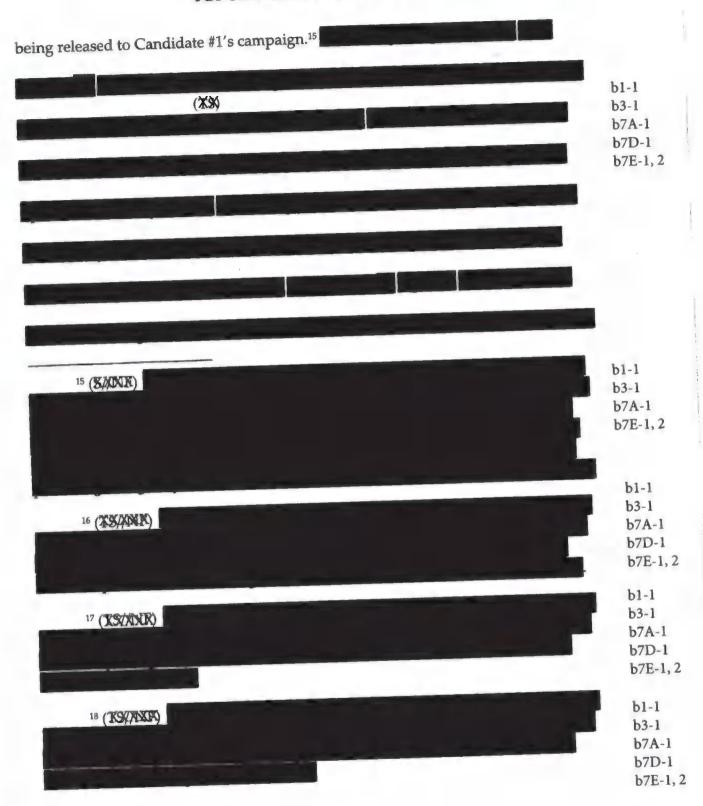
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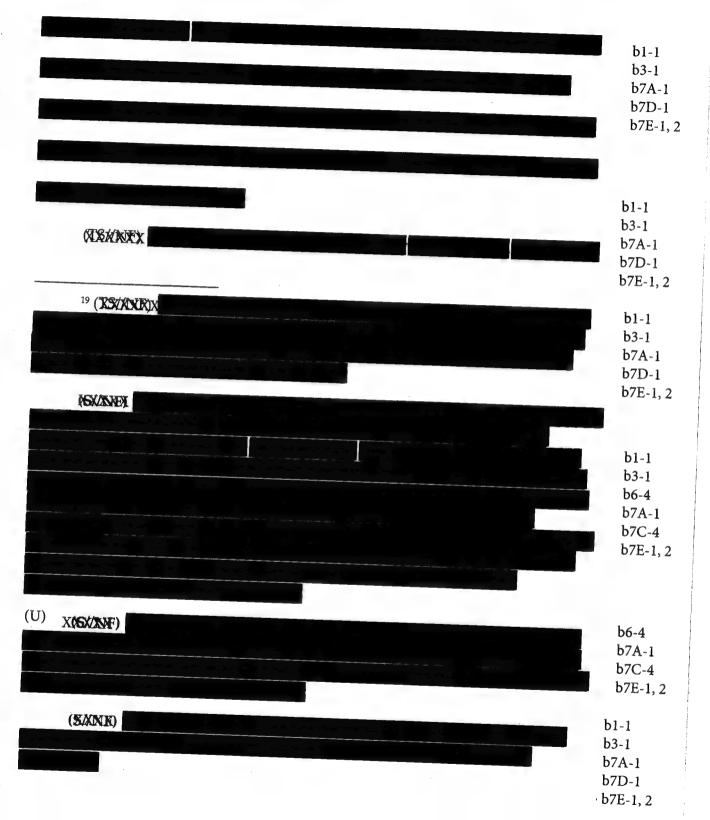


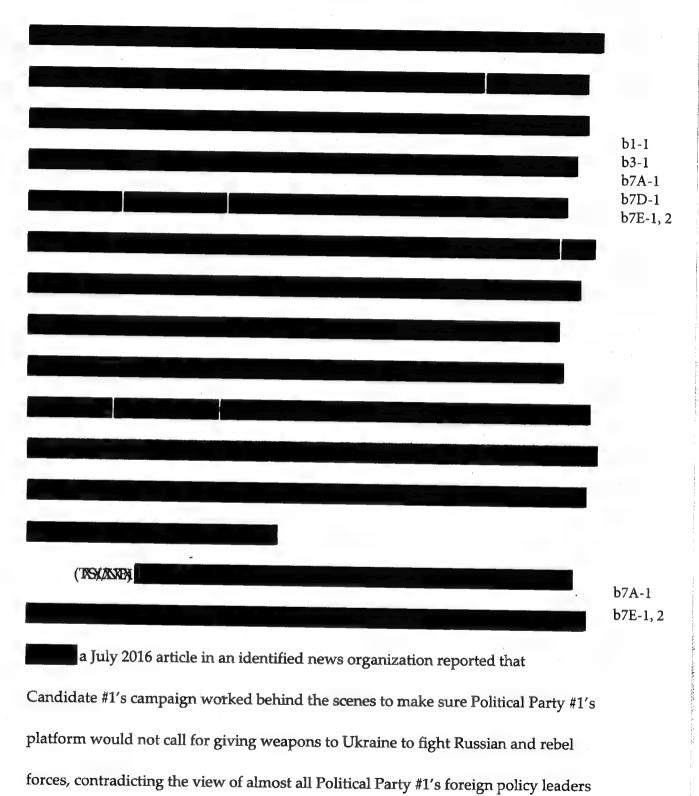
12 XSXXXXIII) In or about April 2014, the U.S. Department of the Treasury (U) (USDOT) announced sanctions that would be taken against Russian Government officials and entities as a result of Russian efforts to destabilize Ukraine. Sechin was identified as an official of the Russian Government, and further identified as the President and Chairman of the Management Board for Rosneft, a position he continues to hold. The USDOT announcement also stated Sechin was formerly the Deputy Prime Minister of the Russian Federation from 2008 until 2012, and from 2004 until 2008, Sechin was the Deputy Chief of Staff for Russian President Putin. The USDOT sanctions announcement identified Sechin as someone who has "shown utter loyalty to Vladimir Putin - a key component to his current standing."



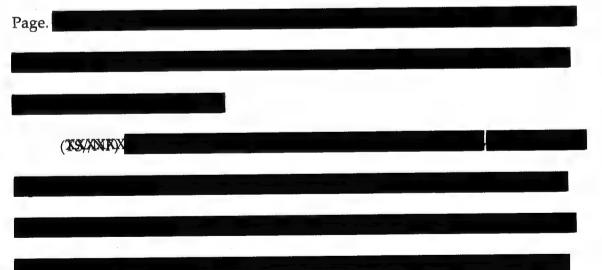
(U) ¹⁴ (§) Kompromat is a Russian term for compromising material about a politician or political figure, which is typically used to create negative publicity or blackmail.







in Washington. The article stated that Candidate #1's campaign sought "to make sure that [Political Party #1] would not pledge to give Ukraine the weapons it has been asking for from the United States." Further, an August 2016 article published by an identified news organization, which characterized Candidate #1 as sounding like a supporter of Ukraine's territorial integrity in September [2015], noted that Candidate #1 had recently adopted a "milder" tone regarding Russia's annexation of Crimea. The August 2016 article further reported that Candidate #1 said Candidate #1 might recognize Crimea as Russian territory and lift punitive U.S. sanctions against Russia. The article opined that while the reason for Candidate #1's shift was not clear, Candidate #1's more conciliatory words, which contradict Political Party #1's official platform, follow Candidate #1's recent association with several people sympathetic to Russian influence in Ukraine, including foreign policy advisor Carter



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b	1-1 3-1 7A-1 7D-1 7E-1, 2
b	7E-1, 2

IV. (U) (SX/XXXX) Page's Denial of Cooperation with the Russian Government to Influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election.

(U) (SVAND) On or about September 23, 2016, an identified news organization published an article (September 23rd News Article), which was written by the news organization's Chief Investigative Correspondent, alleging that U.S. intelligence officials are investigating Page with respect to suspected efforts by the Russian Government to influence the U.S. Presidential election. According to the September 23rd News Article, U.S. officials received intelligence reports that when Page was in Moscow in July 2016 to deliver the above-noted commencement address at the New Economic School, he met with two senior Russian officials. The September 23rd News Article stated that a "well-placed Western intelligence source" told the news organization that Page met with Igor Sechin, a longtime Putin associate and former Russian deputy minister who is now the executive chairman of Rosneft. At their alleged meeting, Sechin raised the issue of the lifting of sanctions with Page. According to the September 23rd News Article, the Western intelligence source also reported that U.S. intelligence agencies received reports that Page met with another top Putin aide - Igor Divyekin, a former Russian security official who now serves as

deputy chief for internal policy and is believed by U.S. officials to have responsibility for intelligence collected by Russian agencies about the U.S. election.²⁰

(U) (XXXX) According to the September 23rd News Article, certain members of Congress were "taken aback" after being briefed on the alleged meetings between Page and Russian officials and viewed the meetings as a possible back channel to the Russians that could undercut U.S. foreign policy. The September 23rd News Article

The FBI does not believe that Source #1 directly

The FBI does not believe that Source #1 directly provided this information to the identified news organization that published the September 23rd News Article.

(U) (XSANE) In or about late October 2016, however, after the Director of the FBI sent a letter to the U.S. Congress, which stated that the FBI had learned of new information that might be pertinent to an investigation that the FBI was conducting of Candidate #2, Source #1 told the FBI that he/she was frustrated with this action and believed it would likely influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential election. In response to Source #1's concerns, Source #1 independently, and against the prior admonishment from the FBI to speak only with the FBI on this matter, released the reporting discussed herein to an identified news organization. Although the FBI continues to assess Source #1's reporting is reliable, as noted above, the FBI has now closed Source #1 as an active source.

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²⁰ (**S**) As discussed above, Source #1 was hired by a business associate to conduct research into Candidate #1's ties to Russia. Source #1 provided the results of his research to the business associate, and the FBI assesses that the business associate likely provided this information to the law firm that hired the business associate in the first place. Source #1 told the FBI that he/she only provided this information to the business associate and the FBI.

also stated that, following the briefing, the Senate Minority Leader wrote to the FBI Director, and citing the reports of meetings between an advisor to Candidate #1 [the advisor was unnamed in the letter, but the article indicated that the advisor is Page] and "high ranking sanctioned individuals" [in context, likely reference to Sechin] in Moscow over the summer as evidence of "significant and disturbing ties" between Candidate #1's campaign and the Kremlin that needed to be investigated by the FBI.

in other articles published by identified news organizations, Candidate #1's campaign repeatedly made public statements in an attempt to distance Candidate #1's campaign from Page. For example, the September 23rd News Article noted that Page's precise role in Candidate #1's campaign is unclear. According to the article, a spokesperson for Candidate #1's campaign called Page an "informal foreign advisor" who "does not speak for [Candidate #1] or the campaign." In addition, another spokesperson for Candidate #1's campaign said that Page "has no role" and added "[w]e are not aware of any of his activities, past or present." However, the article stated that the campaign spokesperson did not respond when asked why Candidate #1 had previously described Page as an advisor. In addition, on or about September 25, 2016, an identified news organization published an article that was

based primarily on an interview with Candidate #1's then campaign manager.

During the interview, the campaign manager stated, "[Page is] not part of the campaign I'm running." The campaign manager added that Page has not been part of Candidate #1's national security or foreign policy briefings since he/she became campaign manager. In response to a question from the interviewer regarding reports that Page was meeting with Russian officials to essentially attempt to conduct diplomatic negotiations with the Russian Government, the campaign manager responded, "If [Page is] doing that, he's certainly not doing it with the permission or knowledge of the campaign"

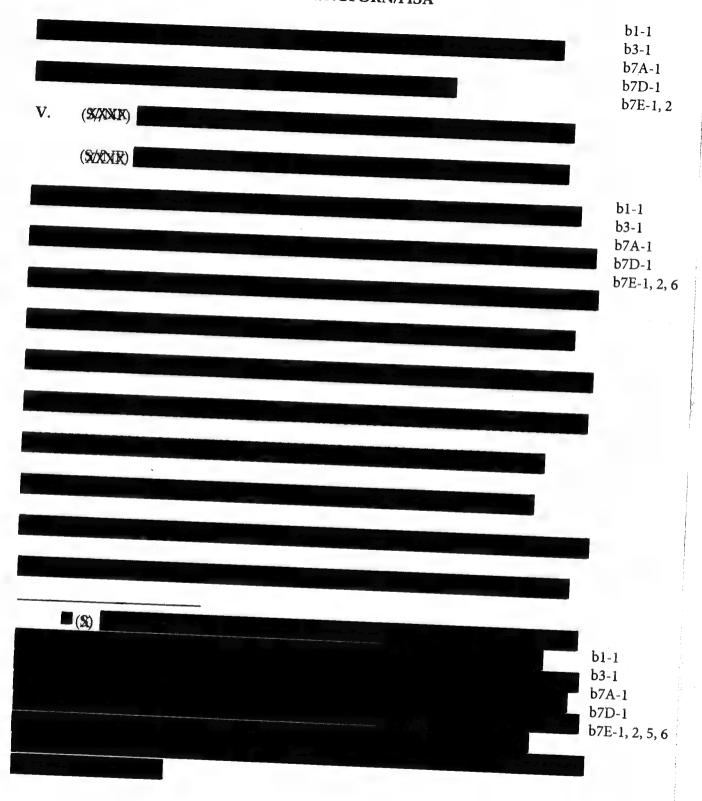
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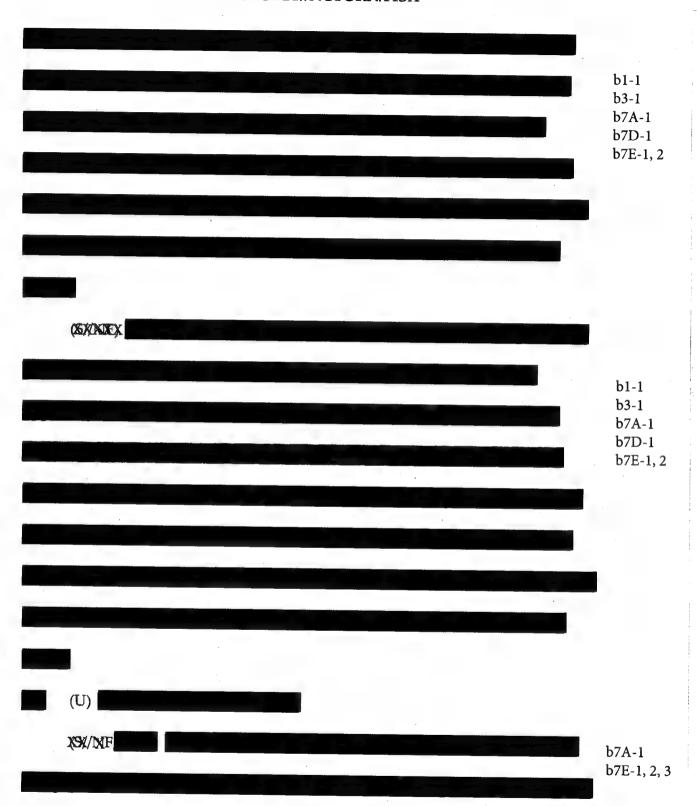
(U) (SANK) On or about September 25, 2016, Page sent a letter to the FBI Director. In this letter, Page made reference to the accusations in the September 23rd News Article and denied them. Page stated that the source of the accusations was nothing more than completely false media reports and that he did not meet with any sanctioned official in Russia. Page also stated that he would be willing to discuss

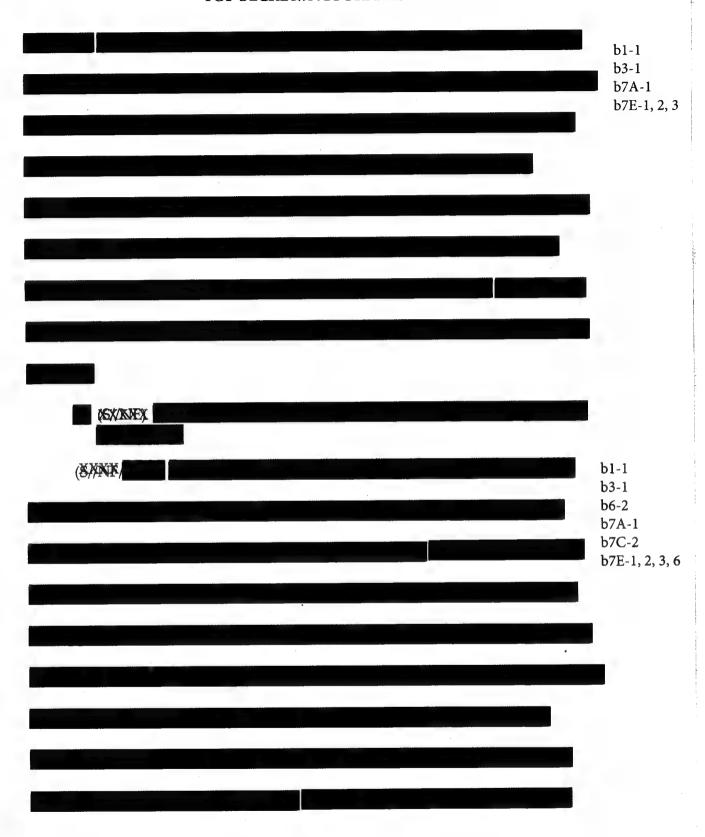
any "final" questions the FBI may have.21

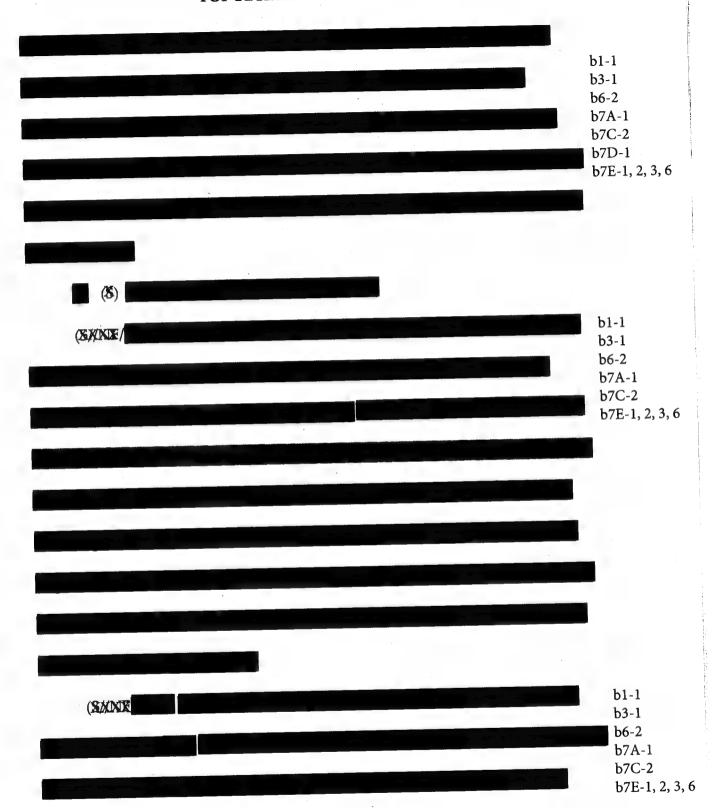
(SYNK) Additionally, on or about September 26, 2016, an identified news organization published an article that was based on an interview with Page (September 26th News Article). In the September 26th News Article, Page stated that all of the accusations were complete "garbage" and that he did not meet with Sechin or Divyekin. Page also stated that he was taking a leave of absence from his work with Candidate #1's campaign because the accusations were a "distraction."

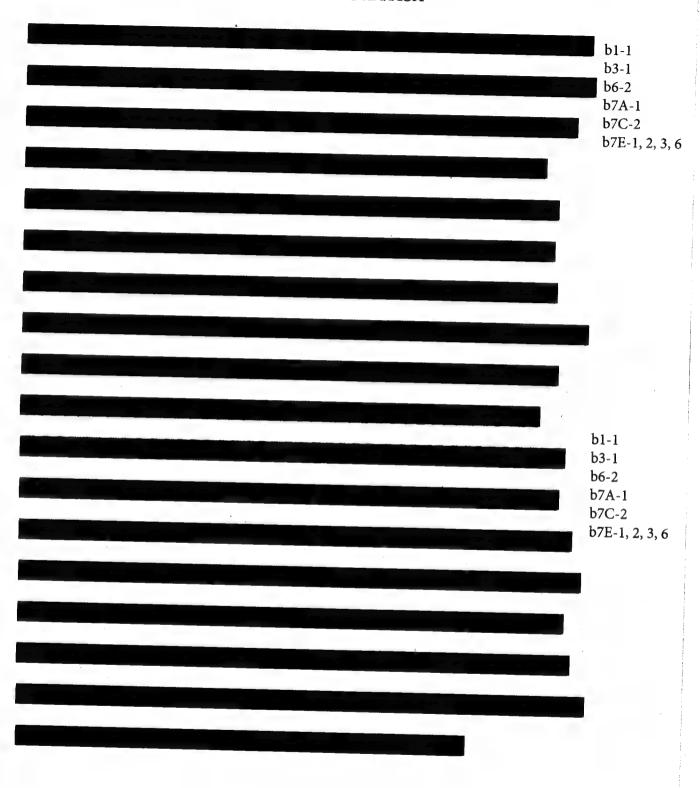


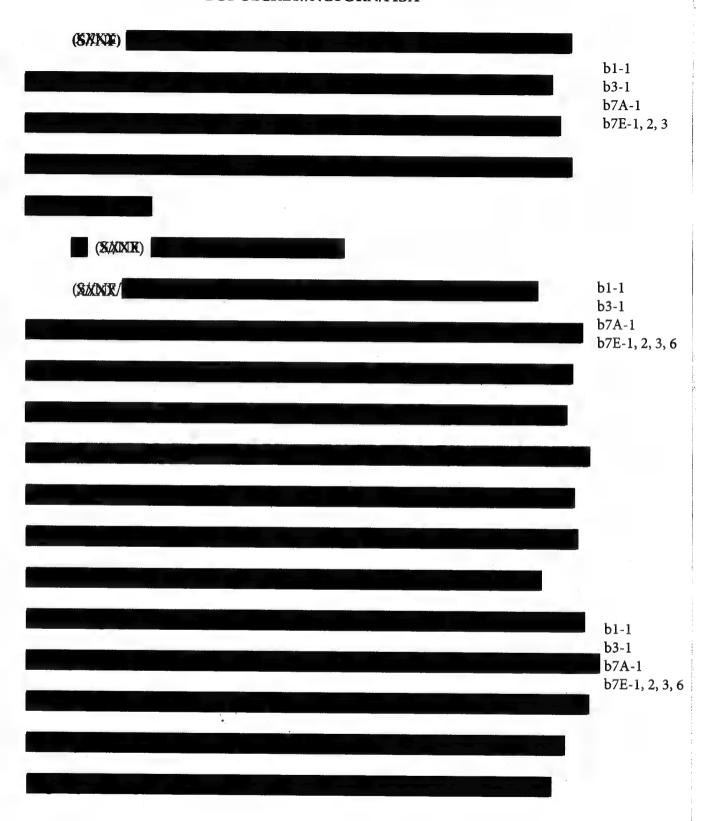


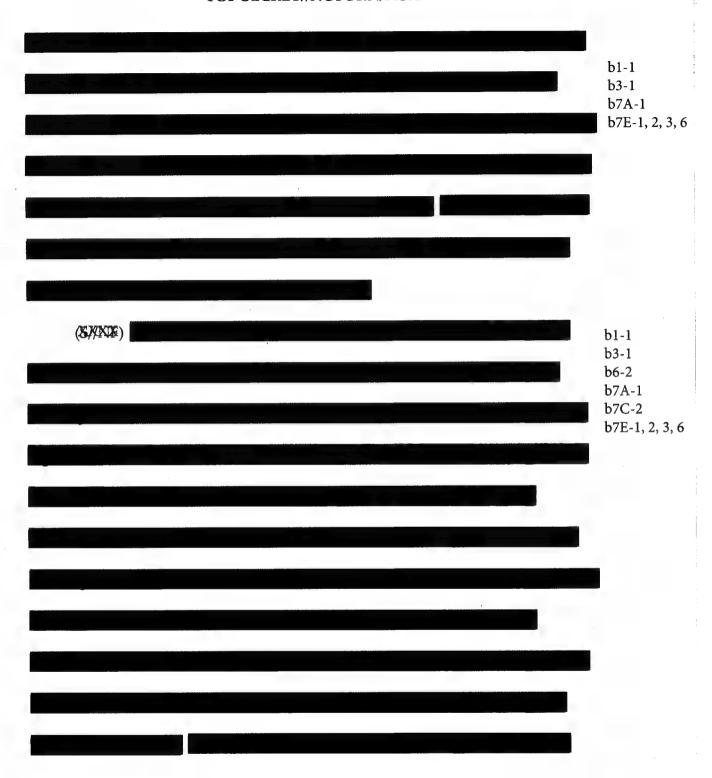


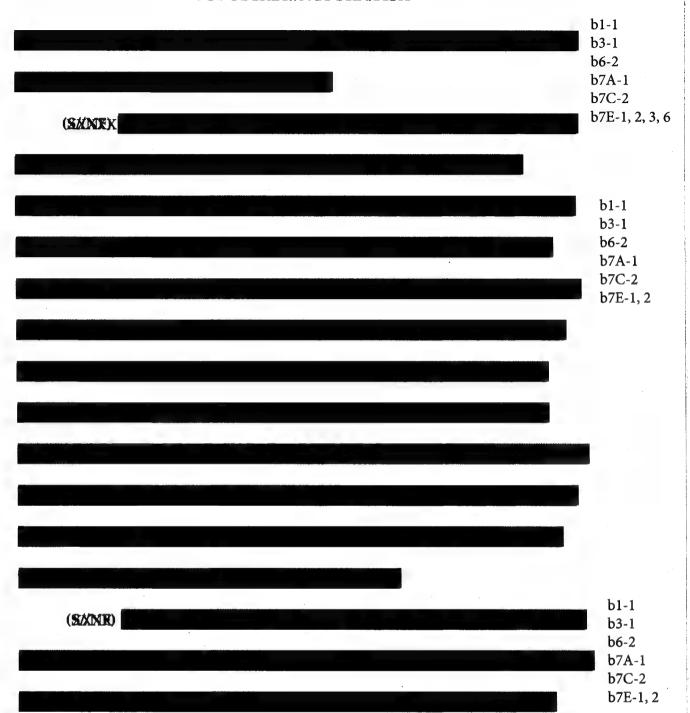


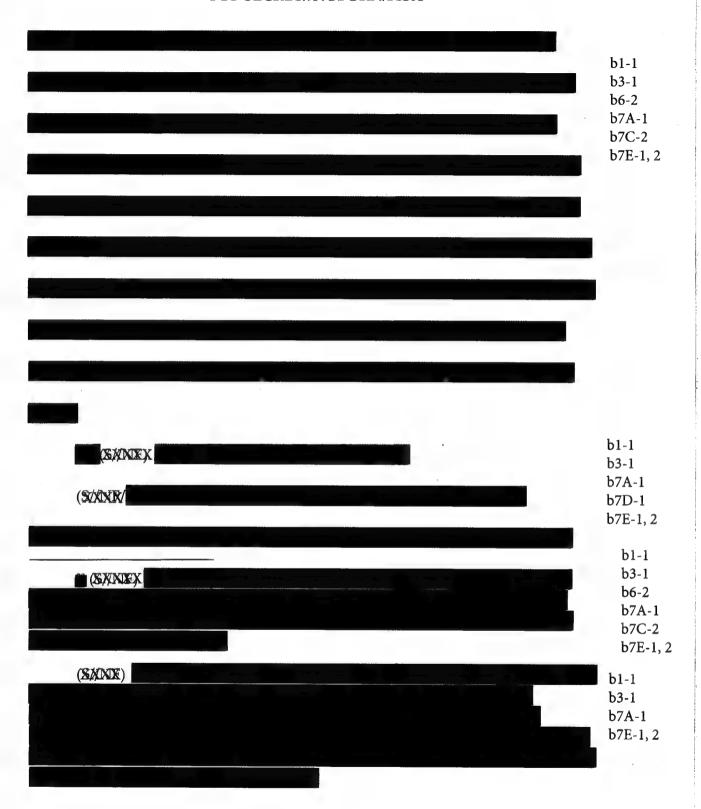


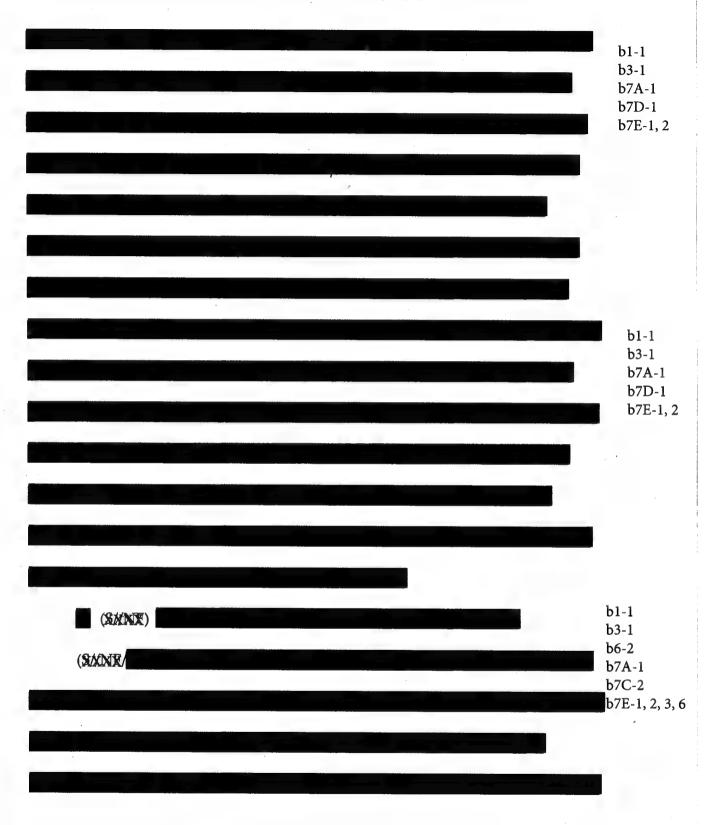


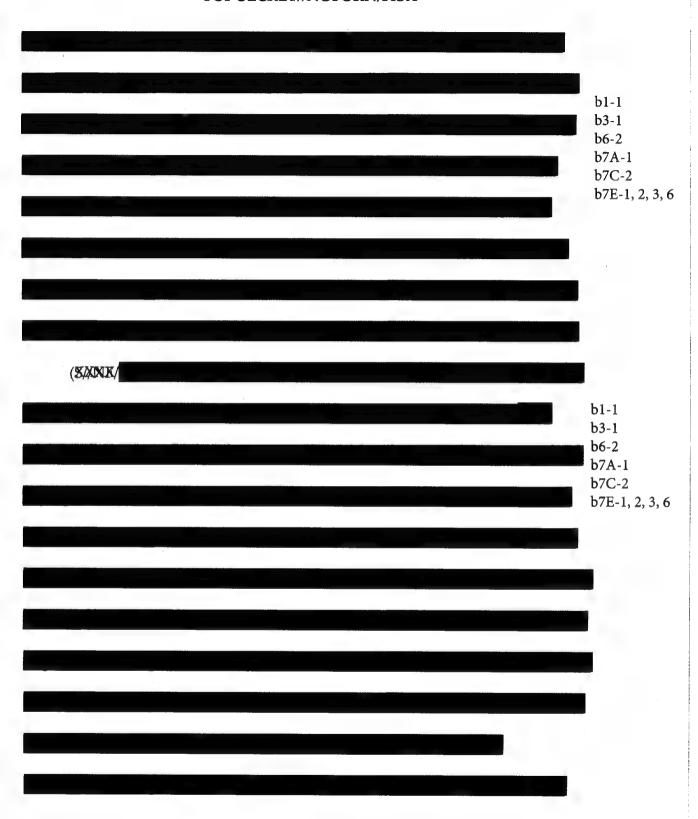


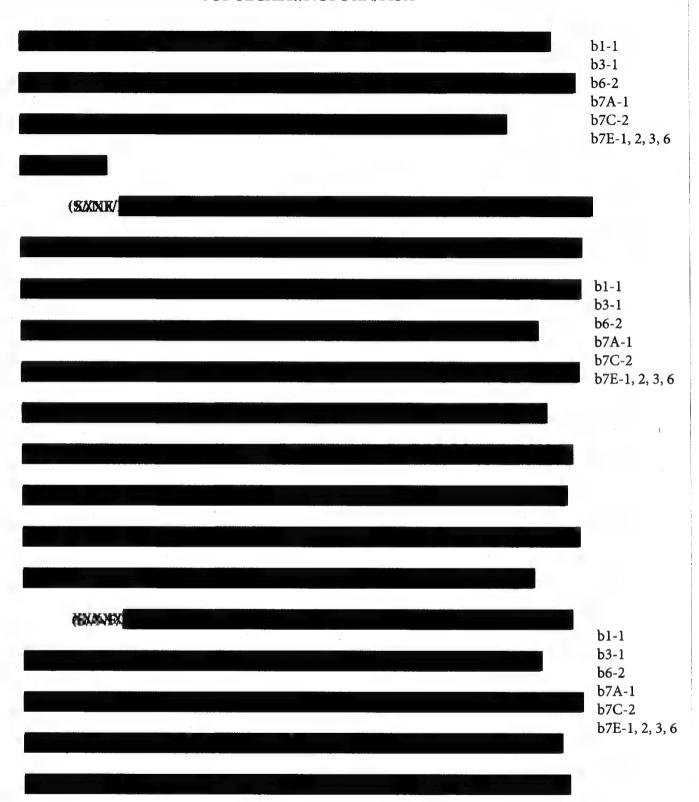


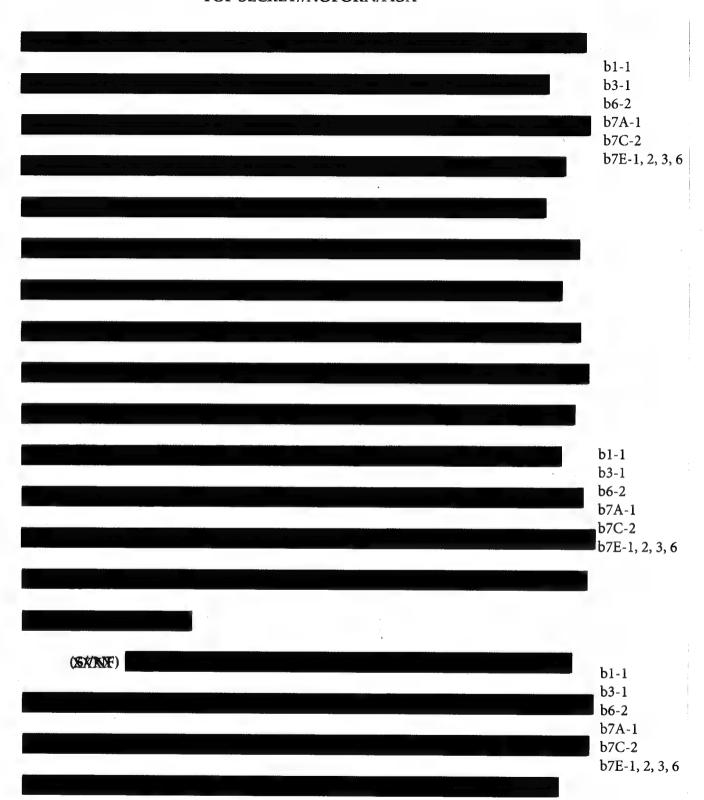




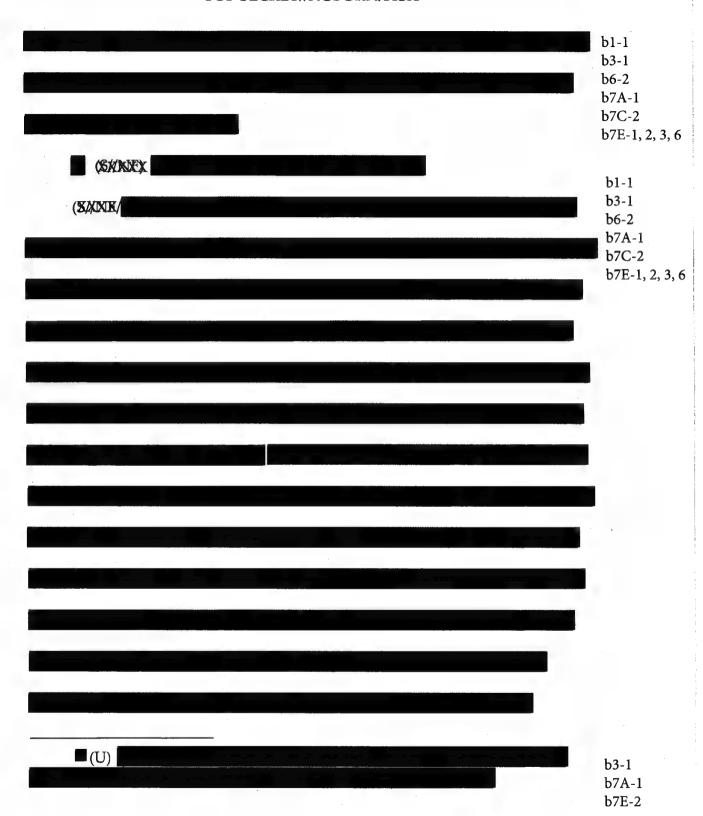


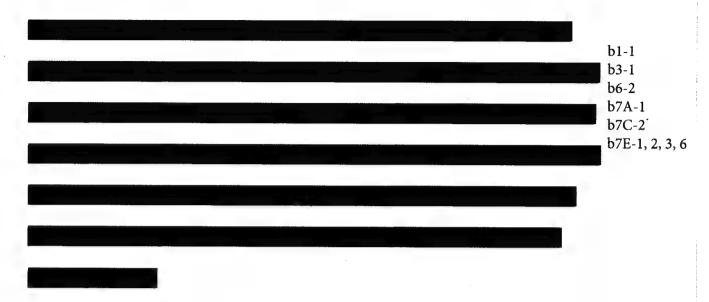






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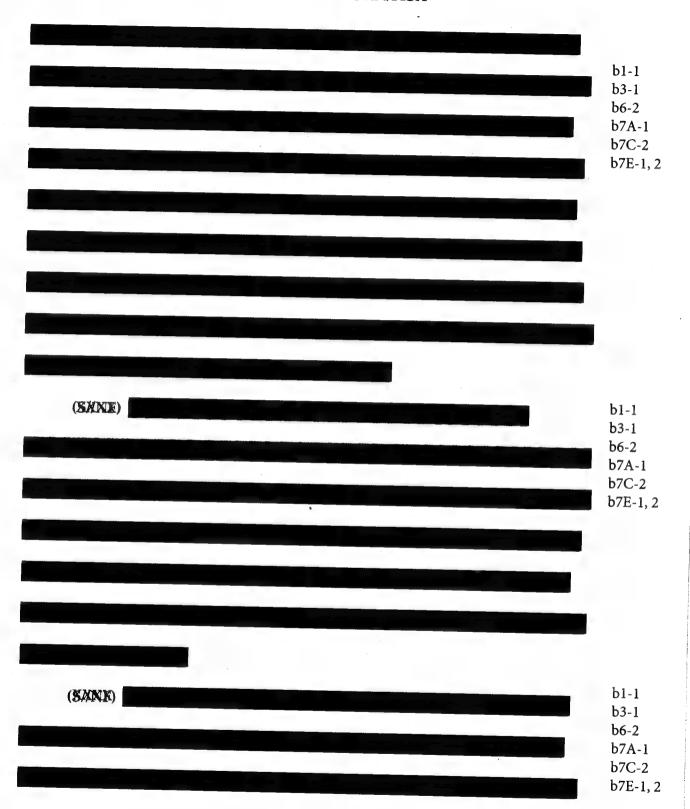
(U) G. (\$//NF) Page's Letter to the U.S. Department of Justice.

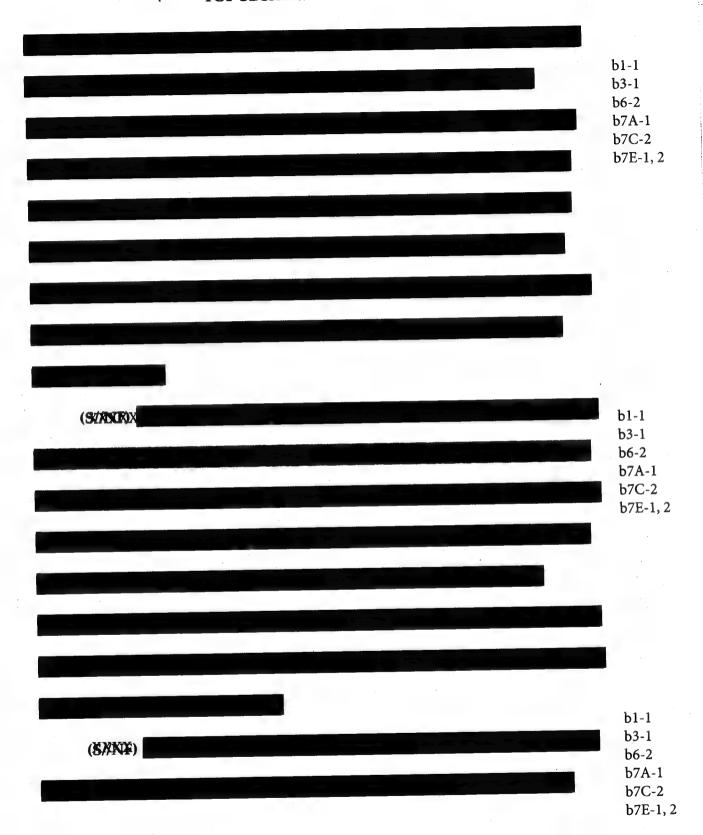
(XXXXXIII) or around February 2017, Page sent a letter to the U.S.

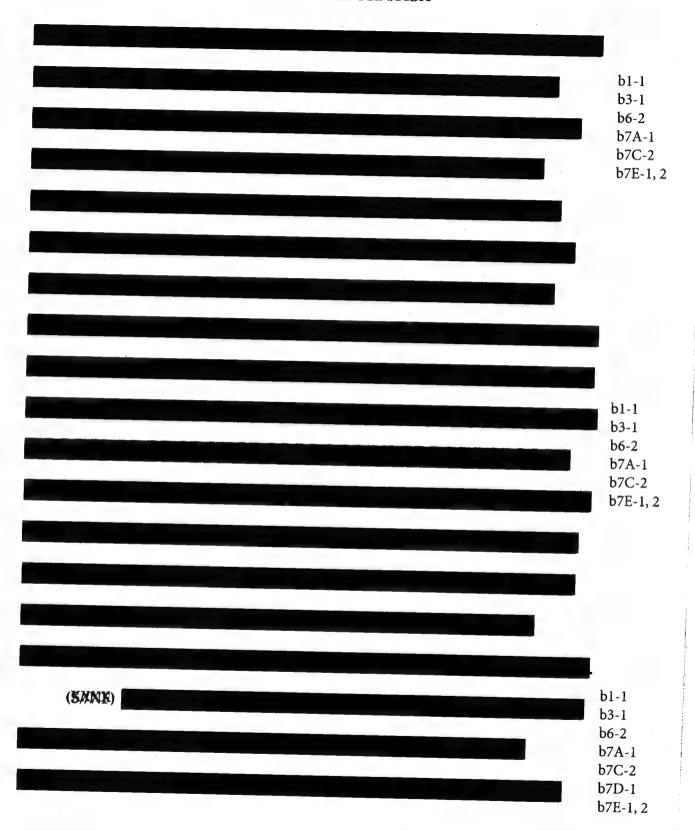
Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division, Voting Section, urging the review of what Page claimed was "severe election fraud in the form of disinformation, suppression of dissent, hate crimes and other extensive abuses led by members of [Candidate #2's] campaign and their political allies last year." In his letter, Page claims that he has not directly supported a political campaign since September 2016, but continues to be subjected to personal attacks by former members of Candidate #2's campaign based on fictitious information. Page wrote that his academic lecture and related meetings with scholars and business people in Moscow had no connection to the U.S. election. Page attributes the assertions in the September 23rd News Article that Page met with two senior Russian officials

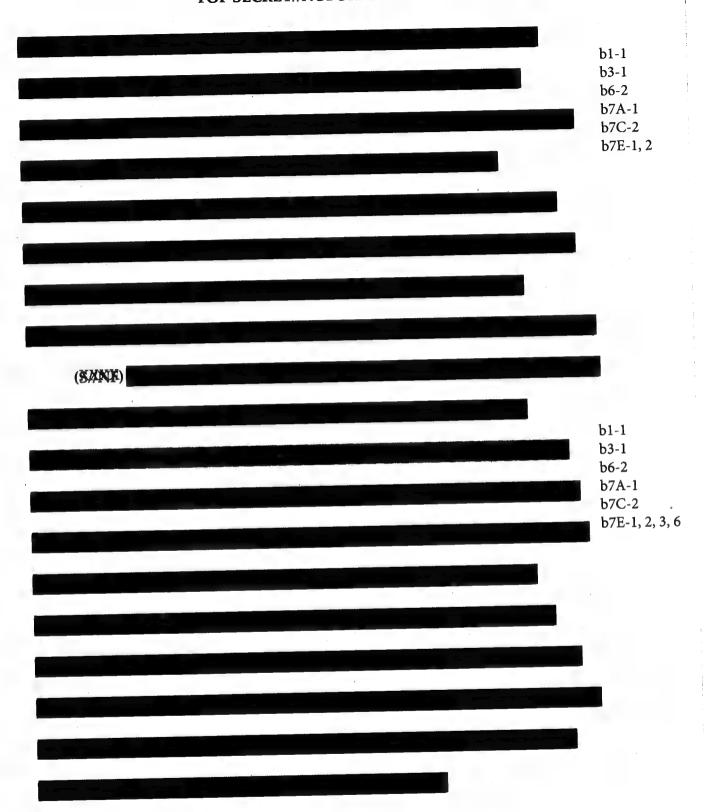
(i.e., Sechin and Diveykin) while he was in Moscow in July 2016 to give the

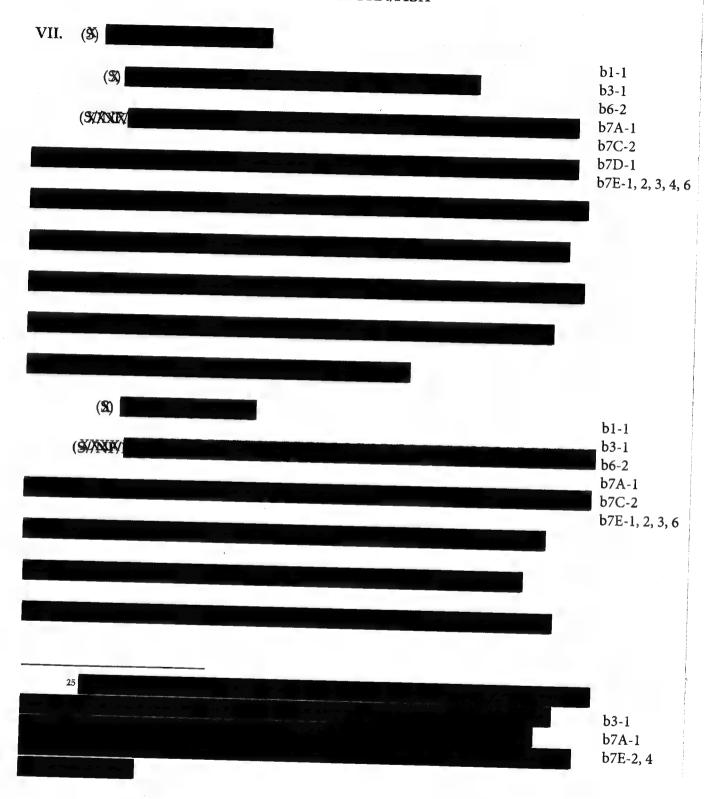
commencement address at the New Economic School, which Page claims is "false evidence," to Candidate #2's campaign. Page further claims that the information relied on by Candidate #2's campaign, certain members of the U.S. Congress, and the media are lies that were completely fabricated by Candidate #2's paid consultants and private investigators. b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2 b1-1 b3-1 b6-2 b7A-1 b7C-2 b7E-1, 2

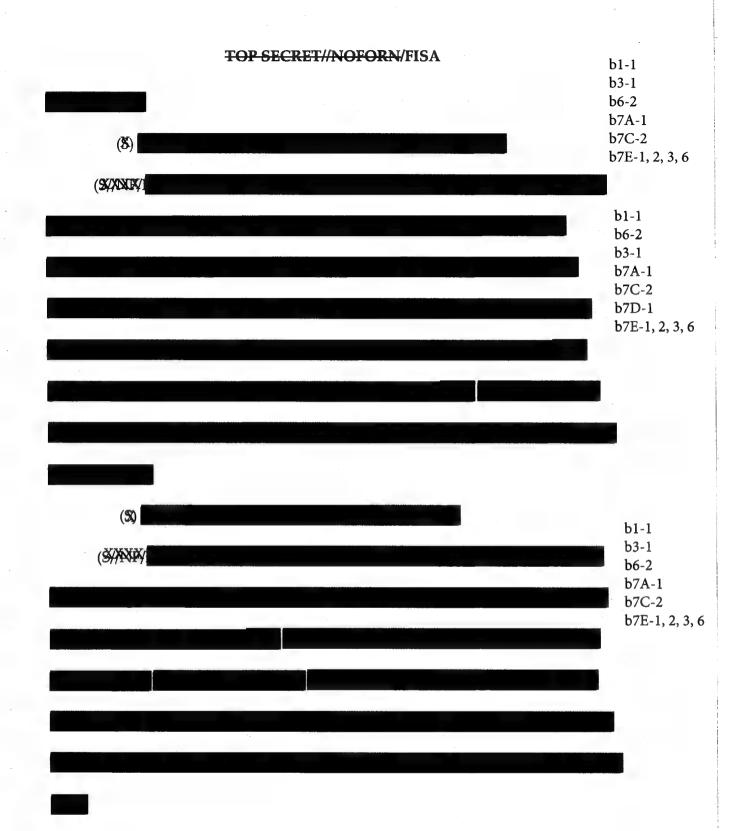


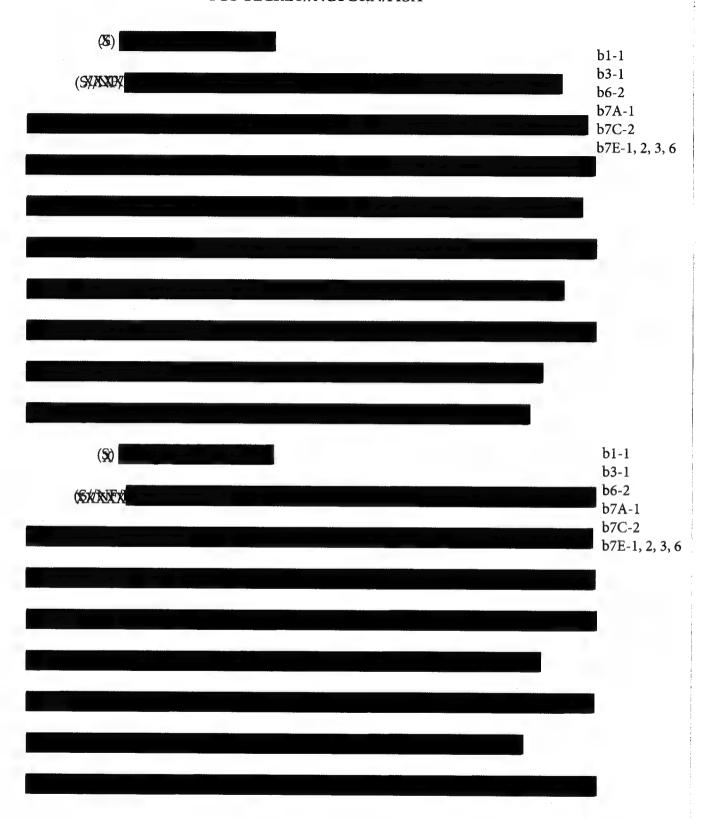


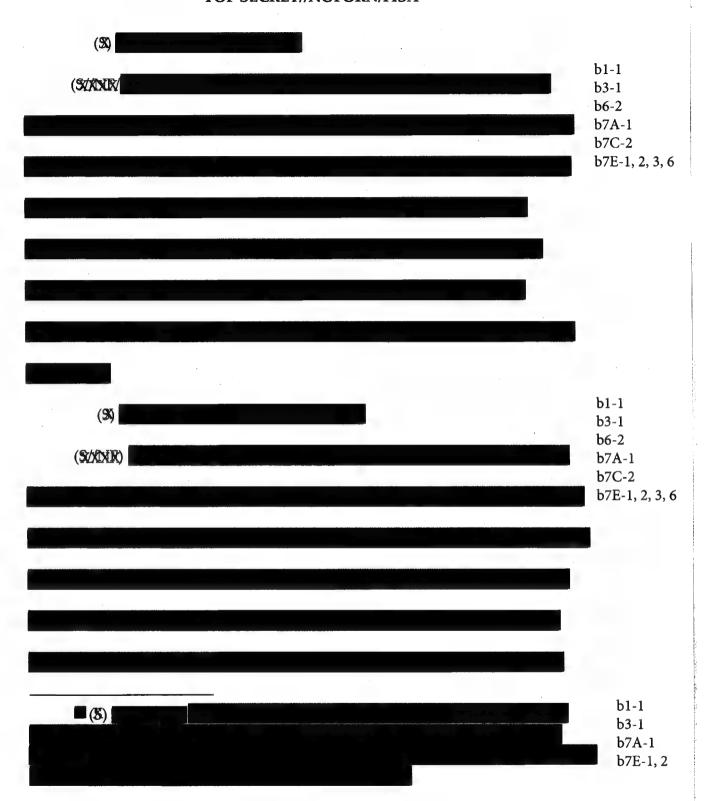


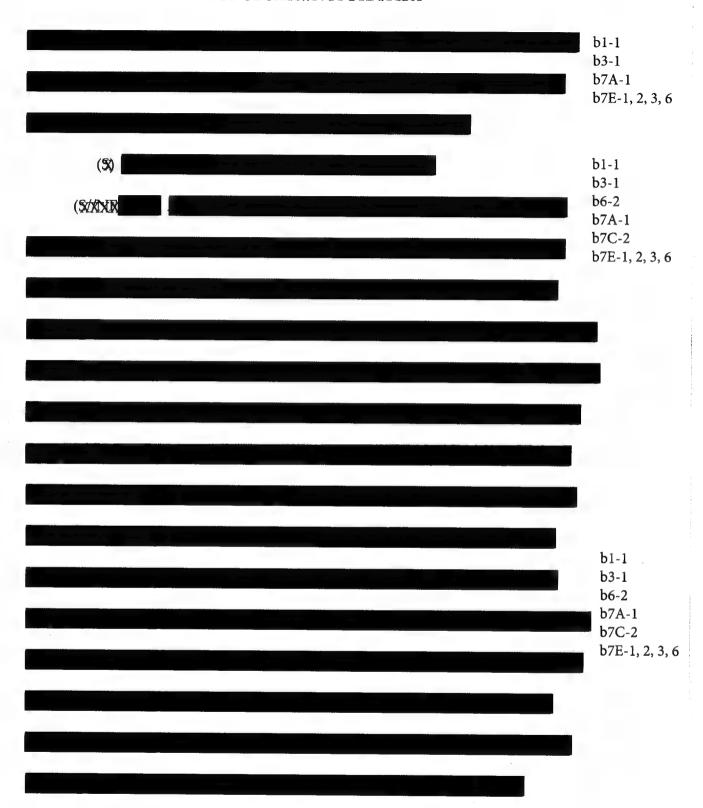


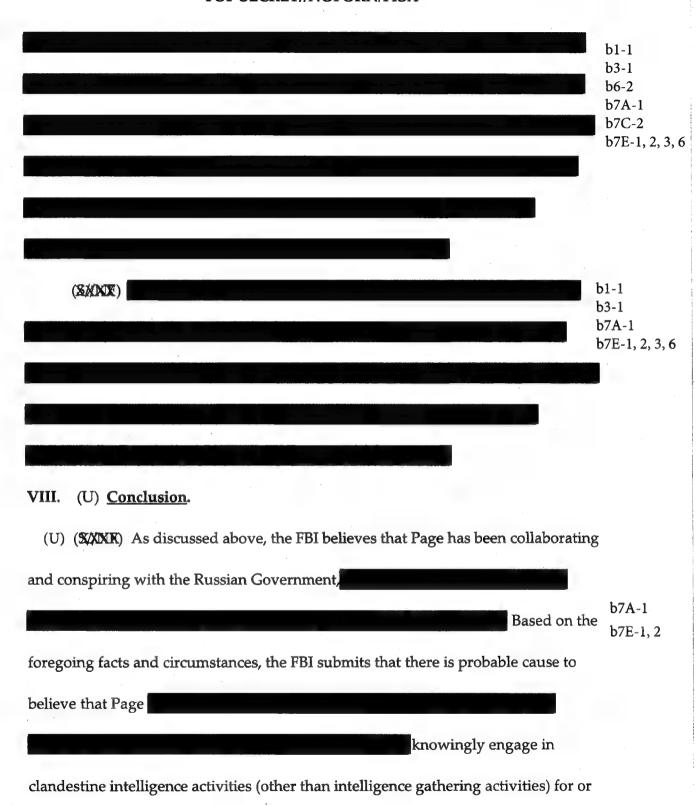


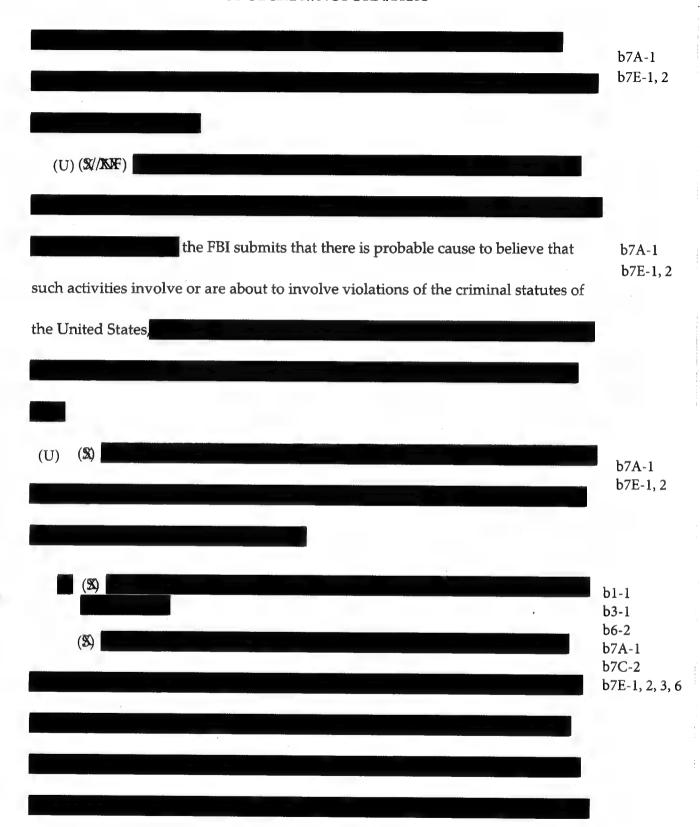


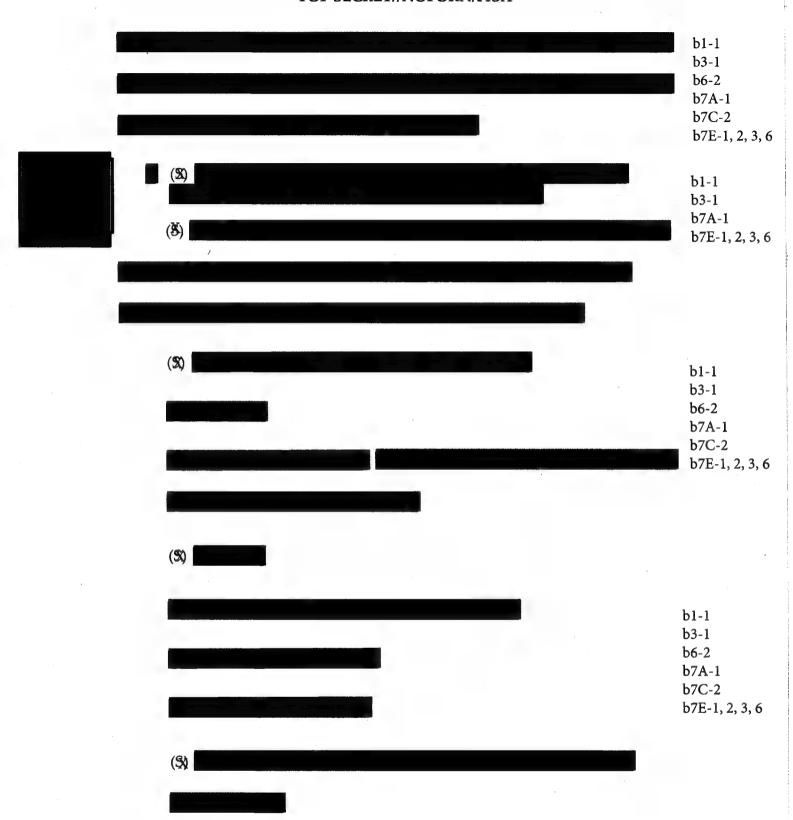


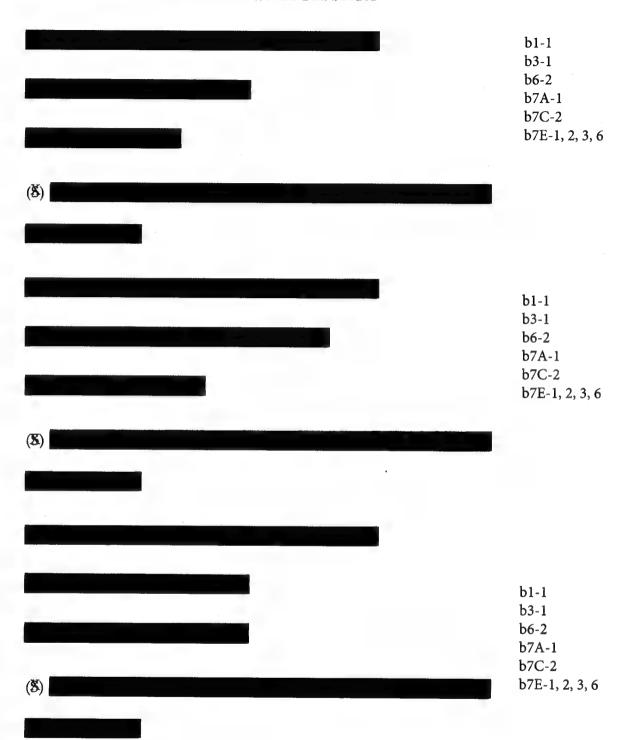


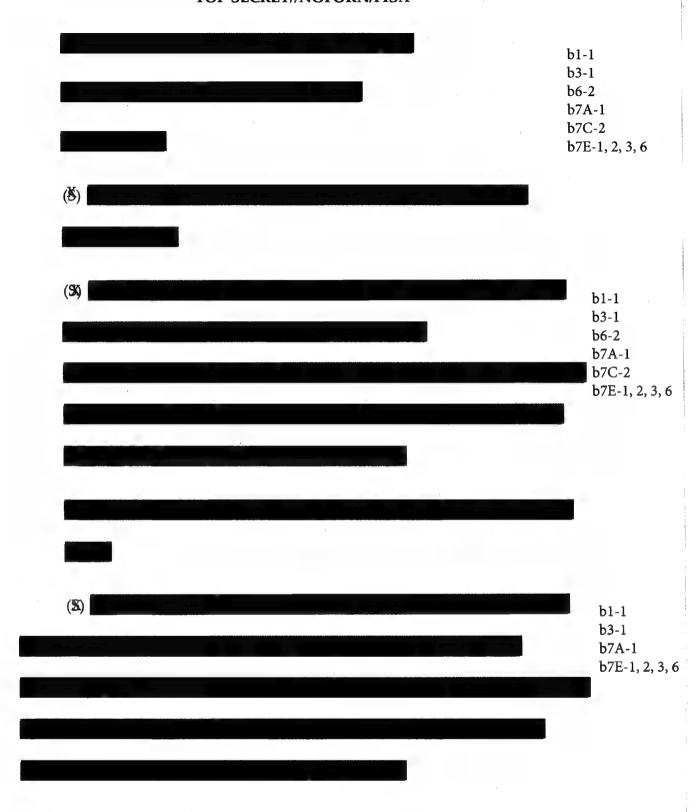


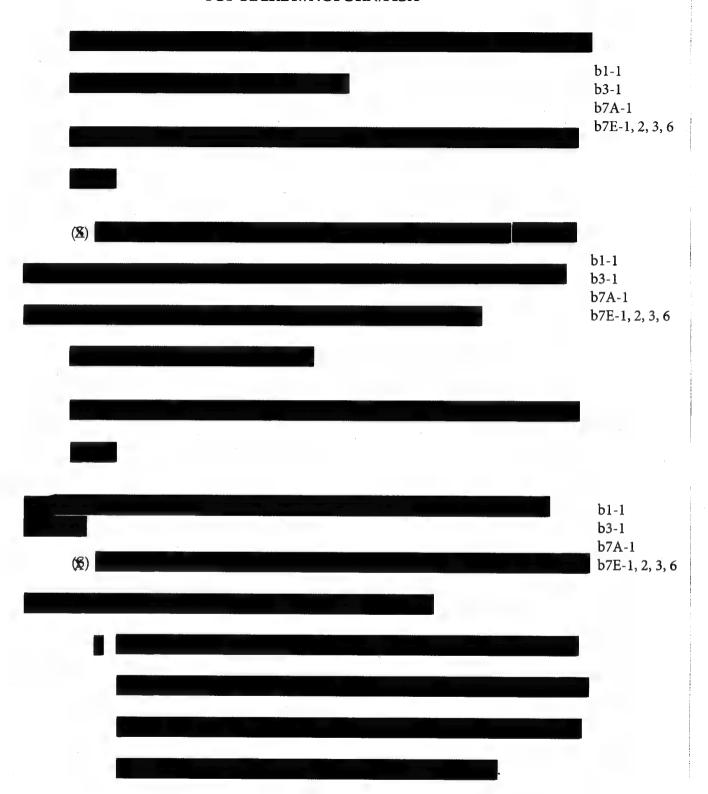




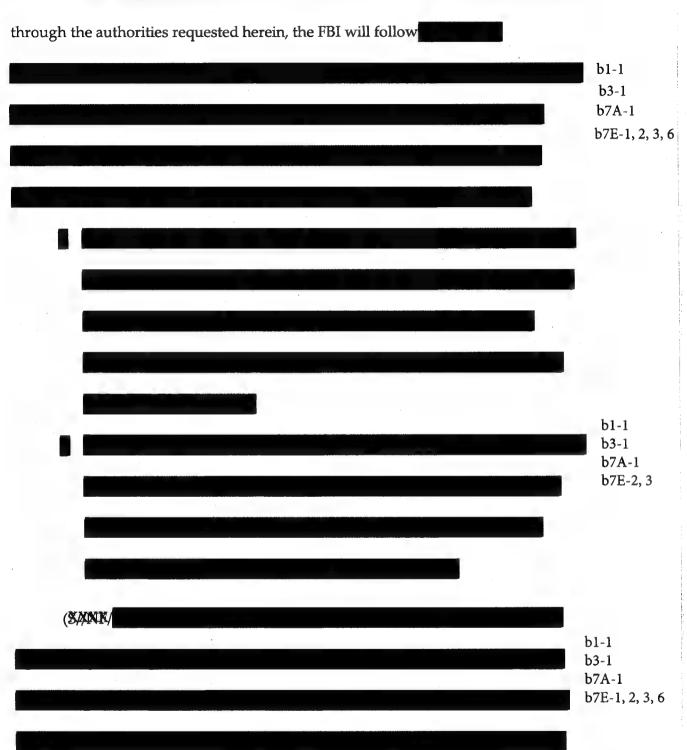


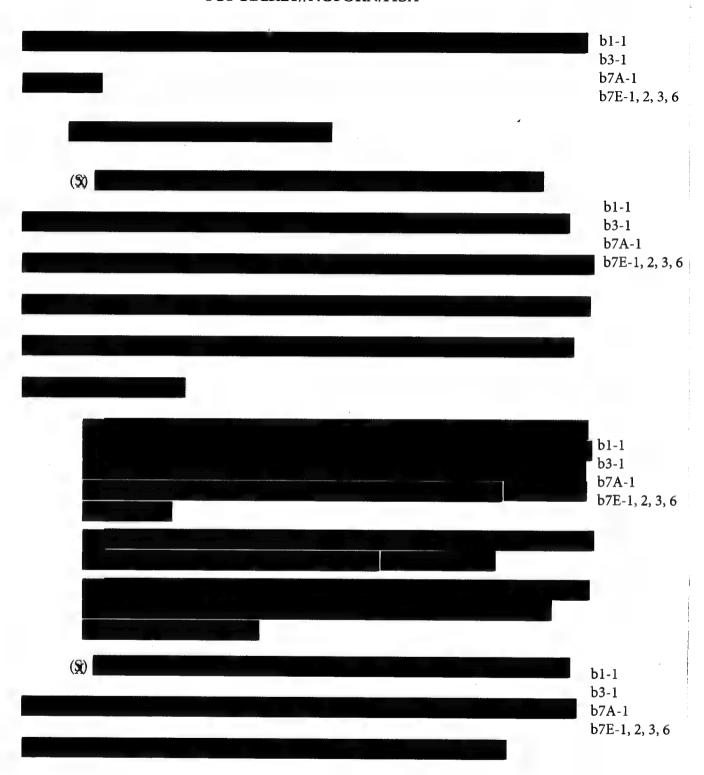


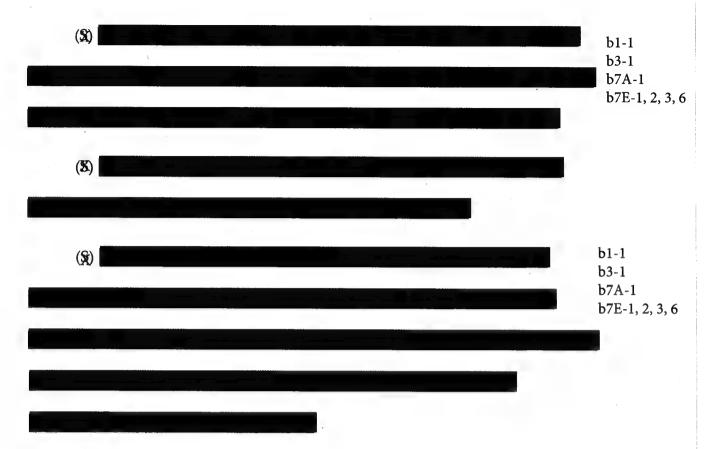




4. (X) Proposed Minimization Procedures As to all information acquired







5. (3) Nature of the Information Sought Through the authorities

b1-1
b3-1
b7A-1
b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

respect to the activities of the target described above and detailed further in the

certification set forth below. As indicated by the facts set forth herein, the FBI is

seeking foreign intelligence information that relates and is necessary to the ability of

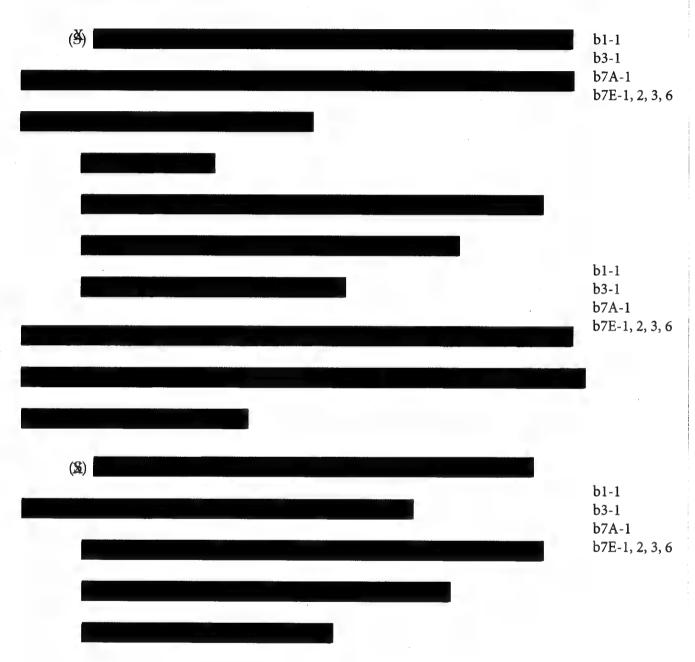
the United States to protect against clandestine intelligence activities by an

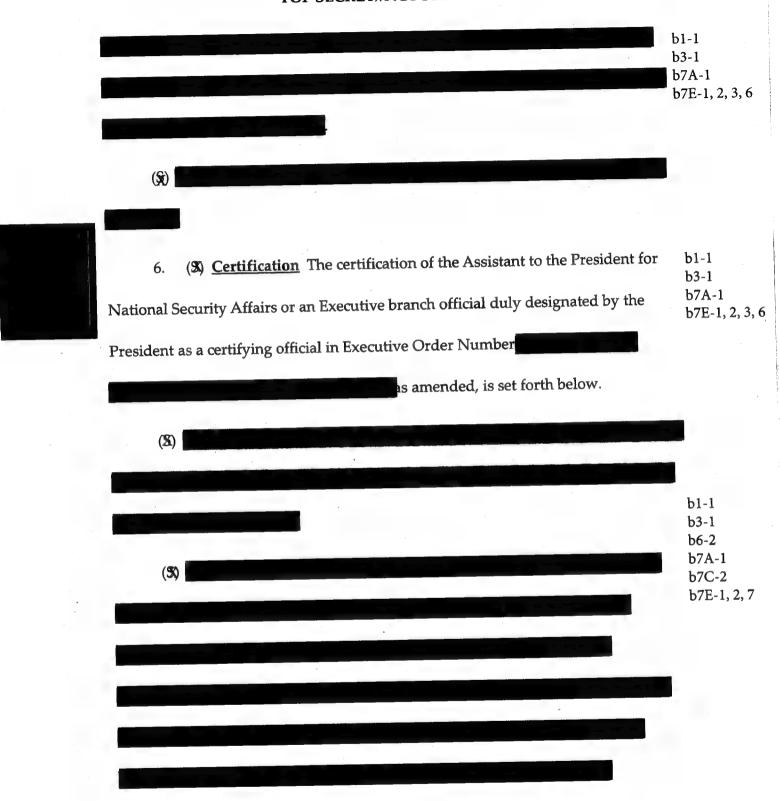
intelligence service or network of this foreign power or by agents of this foreign

power, and information with respect to a foreign power or foreign territory that

relates and is necessary to the national defense, security, and the conduct of the

foreign affairs of the United States. These same authorities may also incidentally acquire other foreign intelligence information, as defined by the Act.

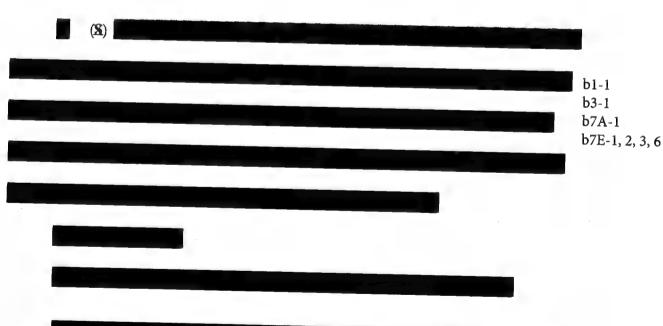


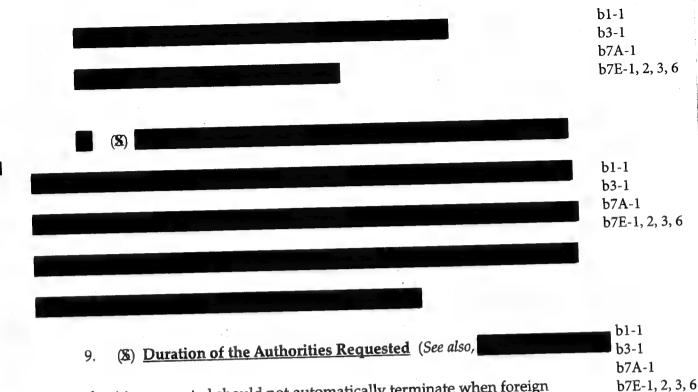


(U) The Purpose of the Authorities Requested

(\$\sqrt{3}\) The FBI's foreign intelligence goals for this investigation are set forth in the certification of the Executive Branch official contained herein. However, the authorities requested in this application may produce information and material which might, when evaluated by prosecutive authorities, constitute evidence of a violation of United States law, and this investigation may result in an eventual criminal prosecution of the target. Nevertheless, as discussed in the certification, at least a significant purpose of this request for

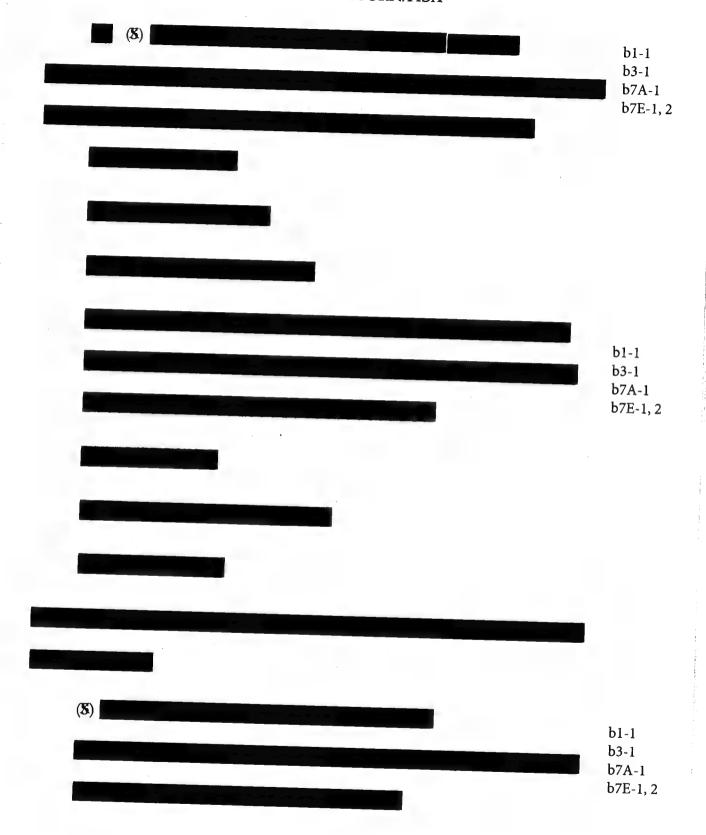
is to collect foreign intelligence information as part of the FBI's investigation b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 of this target.



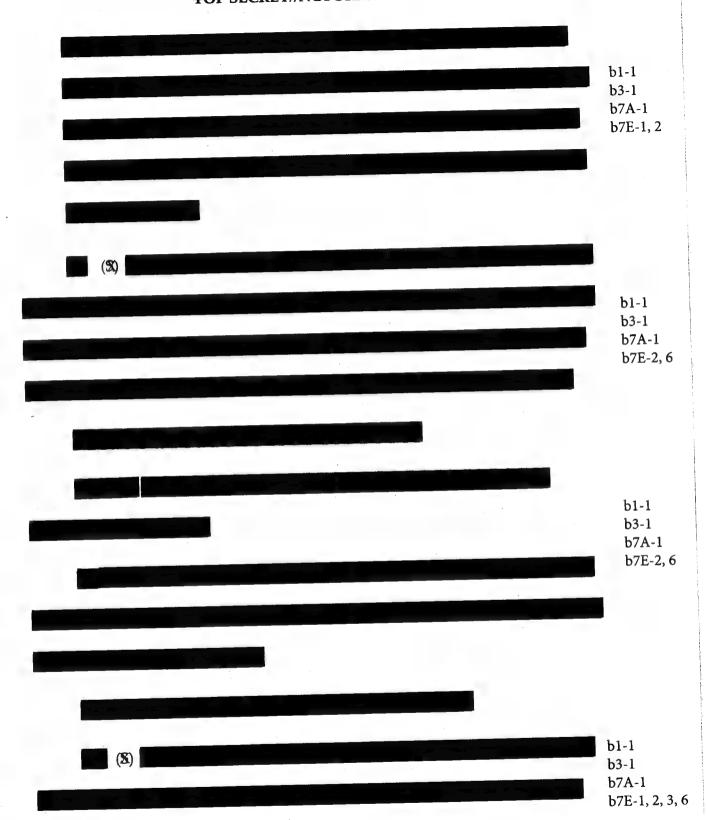


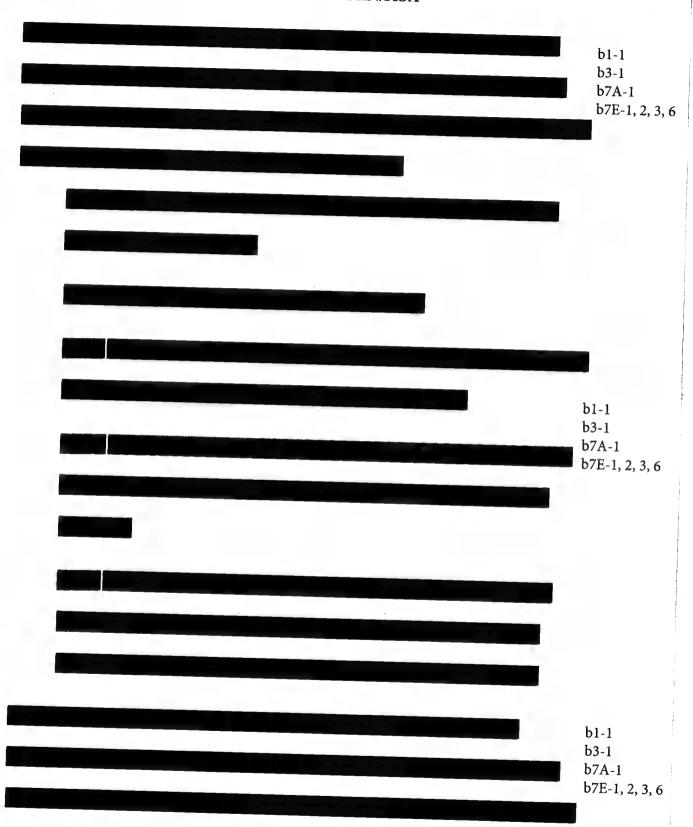
The authorities requested should not automatically terminate when foreign intelligence information has first been obtained. Additional information of the same type will be obtained on a continuous basis throughout the entire period requested. The activities which the United States must identify and monitor are incremental and continuous, and communications relating to such activities are often disguised to appear innocuous. The type of foreign intelligence information being sought and the fact that the activities of this target are ongoing preclude the conclusion that, at a given time, all such information has been obtained and collection can be ended.

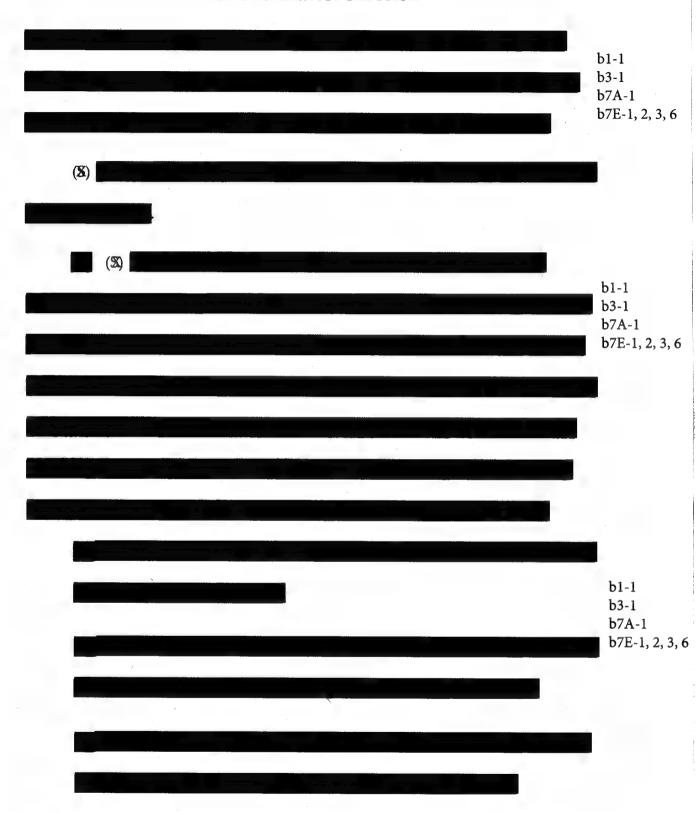
Accordingly, the United States requests the authorities specified herein for a period of ninety (90) days.



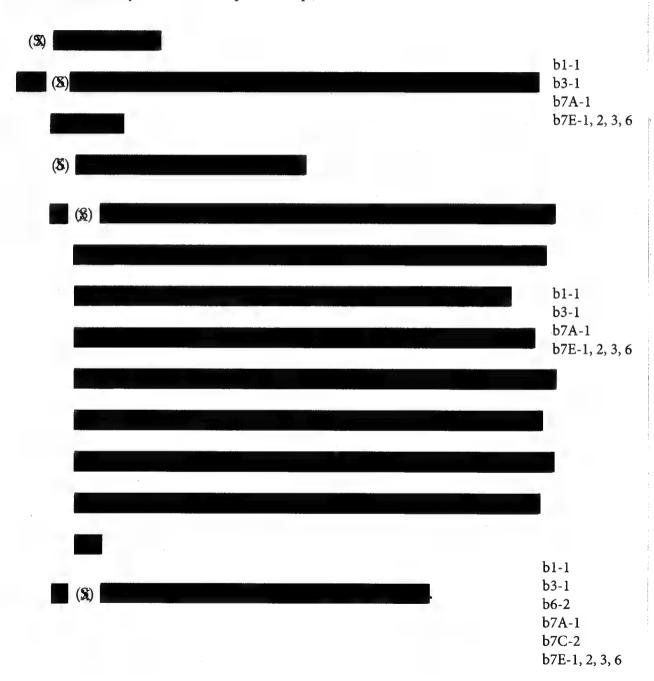
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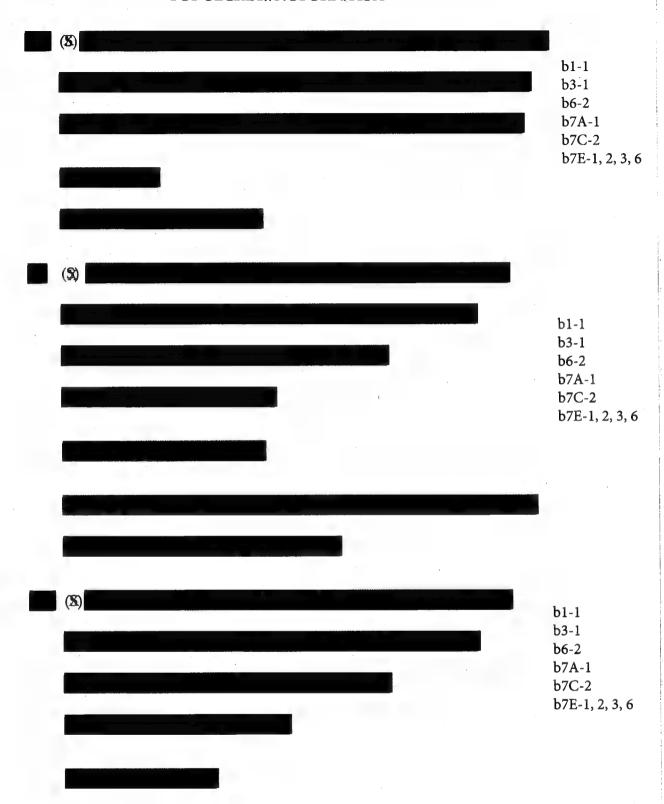


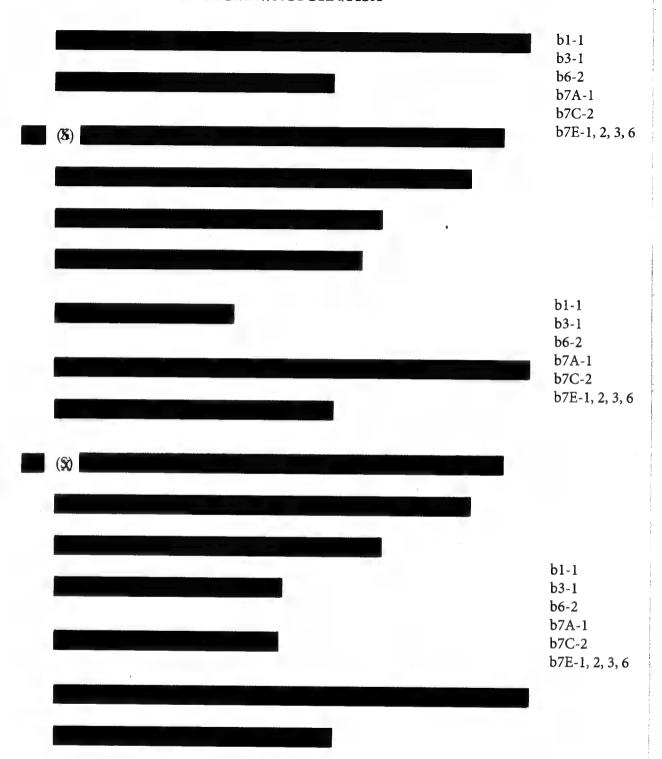


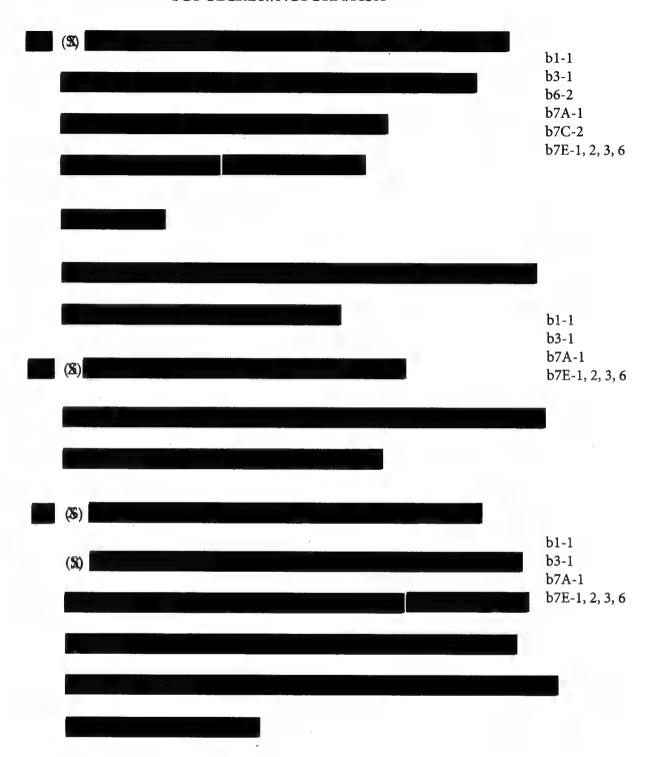


(3) <u>Specific Authorities Requested</u> Based upon the foregoing information, the United States requests that this Court authorize the FBI to conduct the activities described immediately below for the period requested herein.

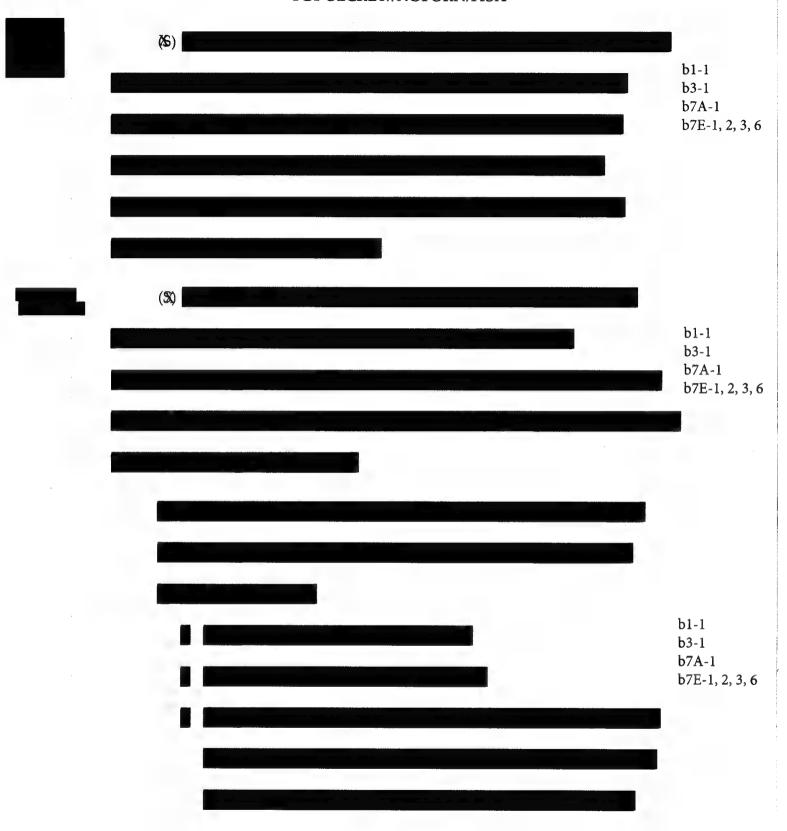


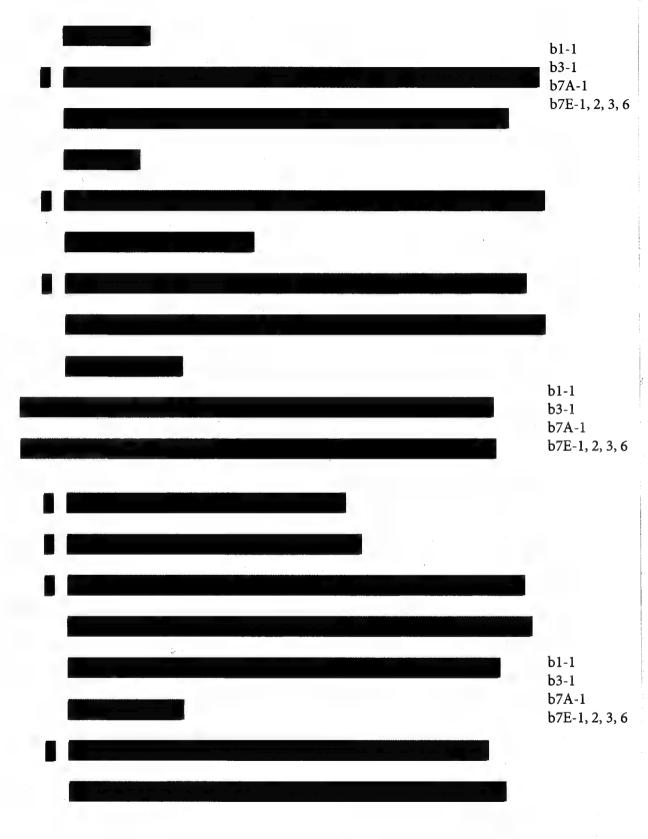






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b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

(U) (3) The FBI has reviewed this verified application for accuracy in accordance with its April 5, 2001 procedures, which include sending a copy of the draft to the appropriate field office(s). A copy of those procedures was previously provided to the Court.

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(U) VERIFICATION

(%) I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing information

regarding Carter W. Page is true and correct. Executed pursuant to Title 28, United

b1-1
b3-1
b7A-1

b6-1
b7A-1
Supervisory Special Agent
Federal Bureau of Investigation

(U) CERTIFICATION

(\$\sqrt{1}\$) I, the undersigned, having been designated as one of the officials authorized to make the certifications required by the Foreign Intelligence

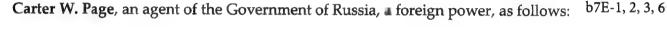
Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, do hereby certify with regard to the

b1-1

requested in this verified application targeting

b3-1

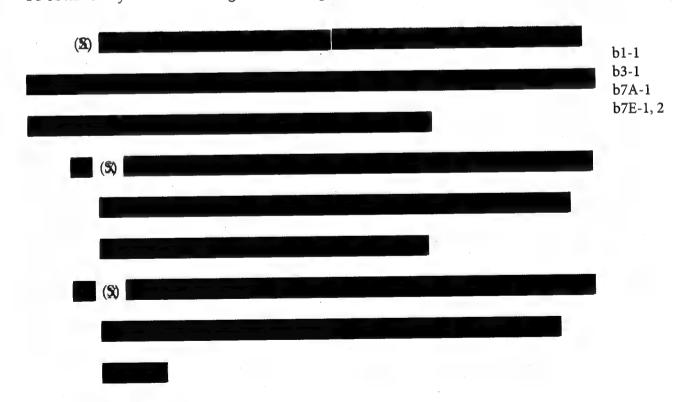
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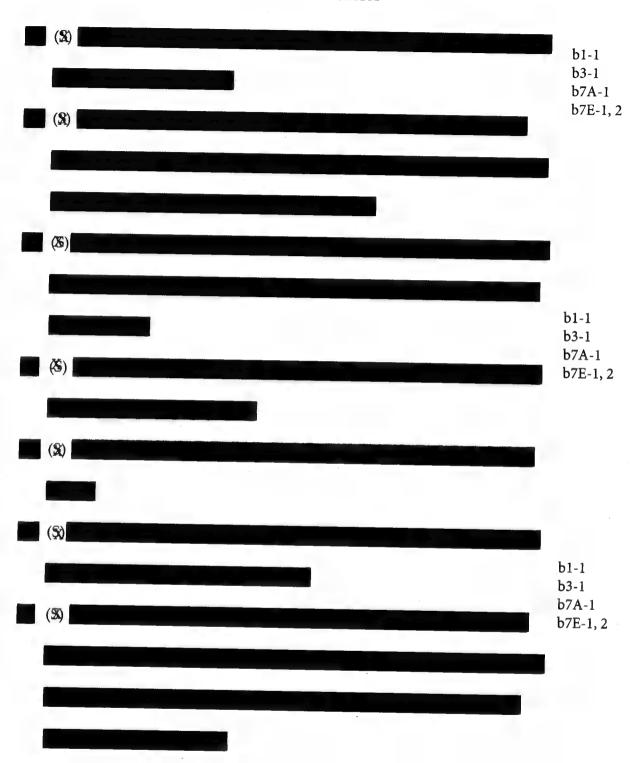


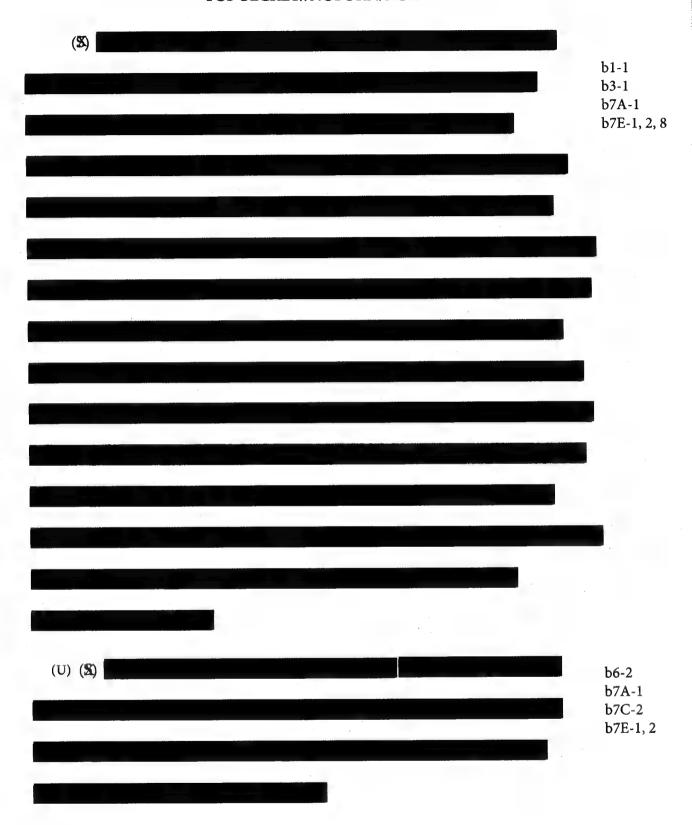
- (A) (U) The information sought through the authorities requested herein is foreign intelligence information.
- (B) (U) At least a significant purpose of the authorities requested herein is to obtain foreign intelligence information and, notwithstanding the related criminal matters described in this application, the primary purpose of the authorities requested herein is <u>not</u> to obtain information for the prosecution of crimes other than those referred to in the Act, 50 U.S.C. § 1801(a)-(e), or related to such foreign intelligence crimes.
- (C) (U) The foreign intelligence information sought by the authorities b1-1 b3-1 requested herein cannot be reasonably obtained by normal investigative techniques. b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
- (D) (S) The type of foreign intelligence information being sought through the authorities requested herein is that described in 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e)(1)(C), i.e.,

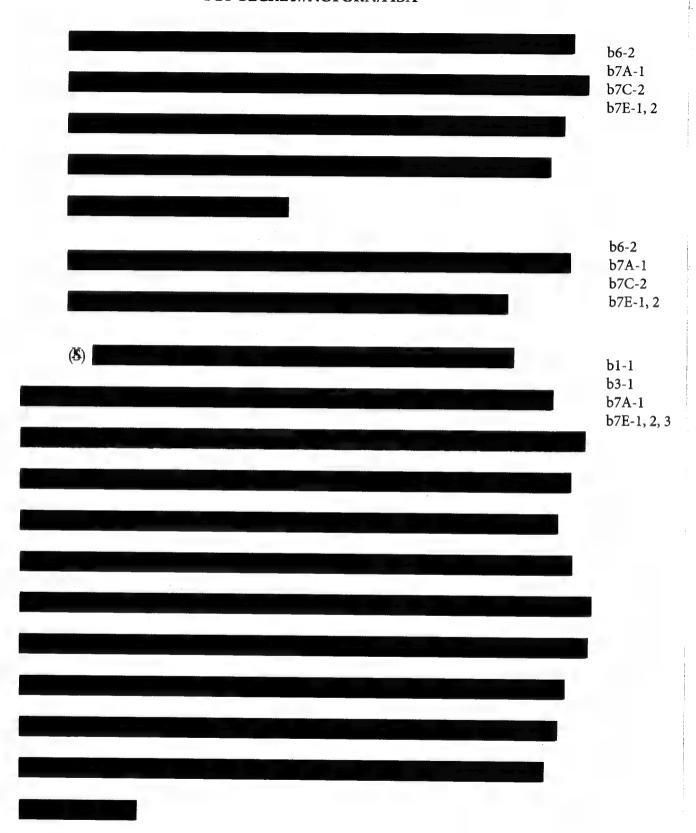
information that relates and is necessary to the ability of the United States to protect against clandestine intelligence activities by an intelligence service or network of this foreign power or by agents of this foreign power, and 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e)(2)(A)-(B), i.e., information with respect to a foreign power or foreign territory that relates and is necessary to the national defense or security, and the conduct of the foreign affairs of the United States. These same authorities may also incidentally acquire foreign intelligence information as defined by other subsections of 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e).

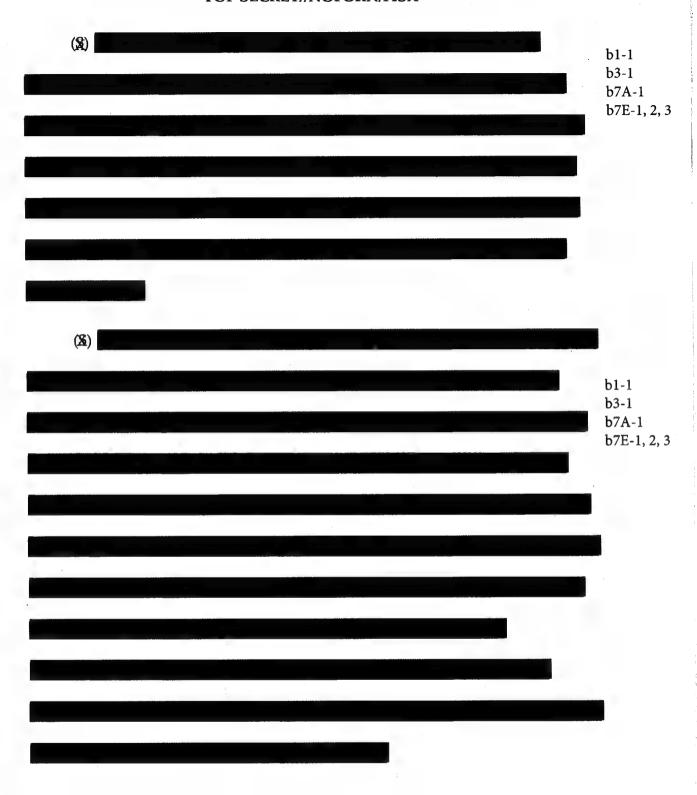
(E) (S) The basis for my certification that the information sought is the type b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 of foreign intelligence information specified herein and that such information cannot be obtained by normal investigative techniques is as follows.

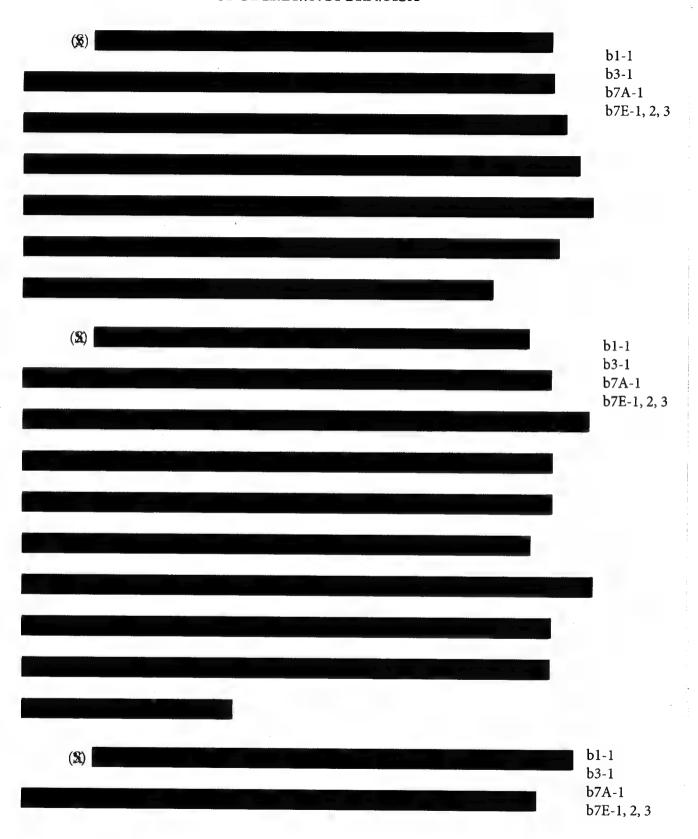


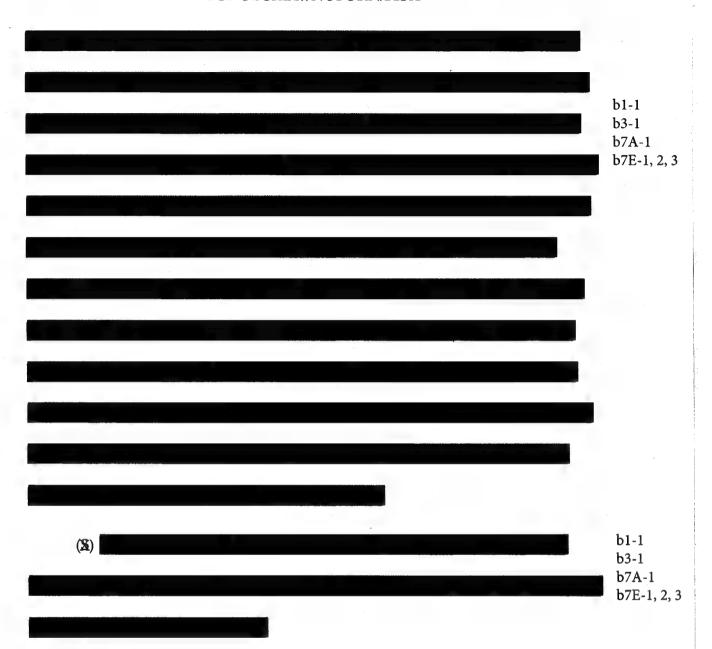












(U) (3) Based upon the foregoing information, it is the Government's belief that the authorities requested herein targeting Page are critical investigative means for obtaining the foreign intelligence information identified herein.

(6) Accordingly, I execute this certification regarding Carter W. Page in accordance with the requirements of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended.

anno Blower	
James B. Comey	Rex Tillerson
Director	Secretary of State
Federal Bureau of Investigation	·
Andrew G. McCabe	
Deputy Director	Deputy Secretary of State
Federal Bureau of Investigation	
Michael R. Pompeo	James N. Mattis
Director of the Central	Secretary of Defense
Intelligence Agency	· ·
Daniel R. Coats	H.R. McMaster
Director of National Intelligence	Assistant to the President for
J	National Security Affairs
•	
•	•

Principal Deputy Director of National Intelligence



b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1

(U) APPROVAL

(U) (§) I find that this application regarding Carter W. Page satisfies the criteria and requirements for such applications set forth in the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, and hereby approve its filing with this Court.

(S)			
		 	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1
			b7E-1, 2,

(S) Accordingly, I approve the filing of this application regarding Carter

W. Page with the C	Court,
	Vana Bout
	Dana J. Boente ²⁷
	Acting Attorney General of the United States
tari/ 20	<i>"7</i>

b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1

²⁷ (U) Pursuant to Executive Order 13787 (March 31, 2017), Dana J. Boente is serving as the Acting Attorney General with respect to this matter by virtue of the Attorney General's recusal.

(U) (X) WHEREFORE, the United States submits that this application regarding Carter W. Page satisfies the criteria and requirements of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, and therefore requests that this Court authorize the activities described herein, and enter the proposed orders and warrants which accompany this application.

Respectfully submitted,



U.S. Department of Justice

Classify By: J23J98T32

Reason: (C)

-2017

Declassify On:

Derived From: FBI NSICG, dated

Filed United States Foreign Intelligence Burveillance Court

UNITED STATES

LeeAnn Flynn Hall, Clerk of Court

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SURVEILLANCE COURT

b3-1

WASHINGTON, D. C.

b7A-1

IN RE CARTER W. PAGE, A U.S.

Docket Number:

b1-1 b3-1

b7A-1

PERSON

PRIMARY ORDER AND WARRANT

1. An application having been made by the United States of America pursuant to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, 50 U.S.C. §§ FISA or the Act), for an order and warrant (hereinafter "order") for and full consideration having been given to the matters set forth therein, the Court finds as follows:

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b3-1

b7A-1

2. The application has been made by Tederal officer and approved by the

b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

Attorney General;



3. On the basis of the facts submitted in the verified application, there is probable cause to believe that:

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Derived from:

Application to the USFISC

b1-1

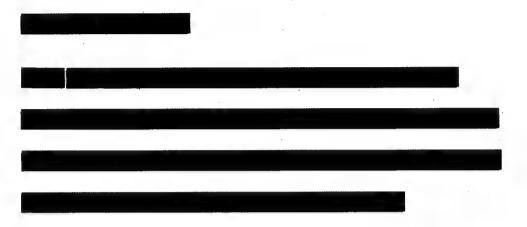
Declassify on:

in Docket Number captioned above

b3-1 b7A-1

(A) The Government of the Russian Federation (Russia) is ■ foreign power and Carter W. Page is an agent of Russia, as defined by

b7A-1 b7E-1, 2



4. The minimization procedures proposed in the application have been adopted by the Attorney General and meet the definition of minimization procedures unde

b1-1 b3-1

b7A-1

b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

5. The application contains all statements and certifications required by

and the certification is not clearly erroneous on the basis of the statements made unde

b1-1

b3-1

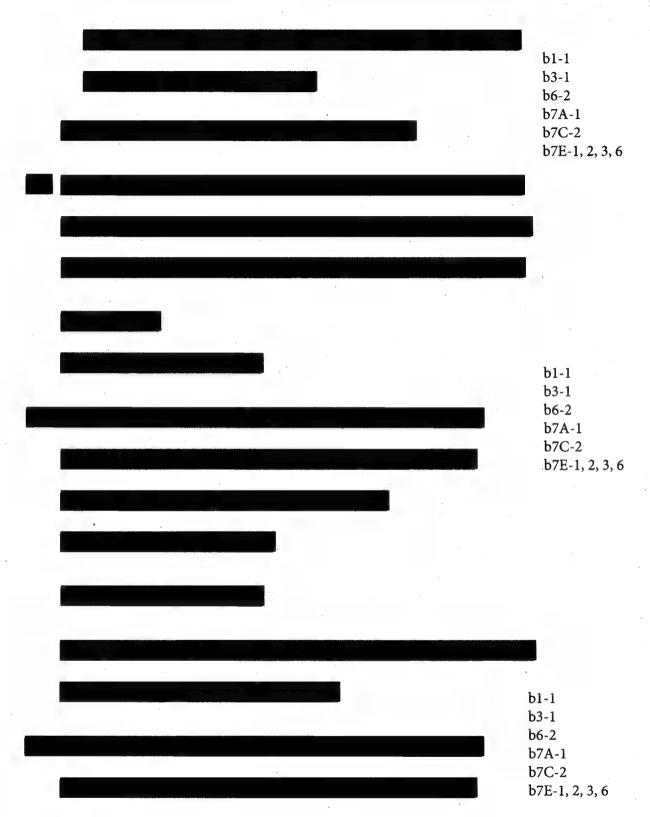
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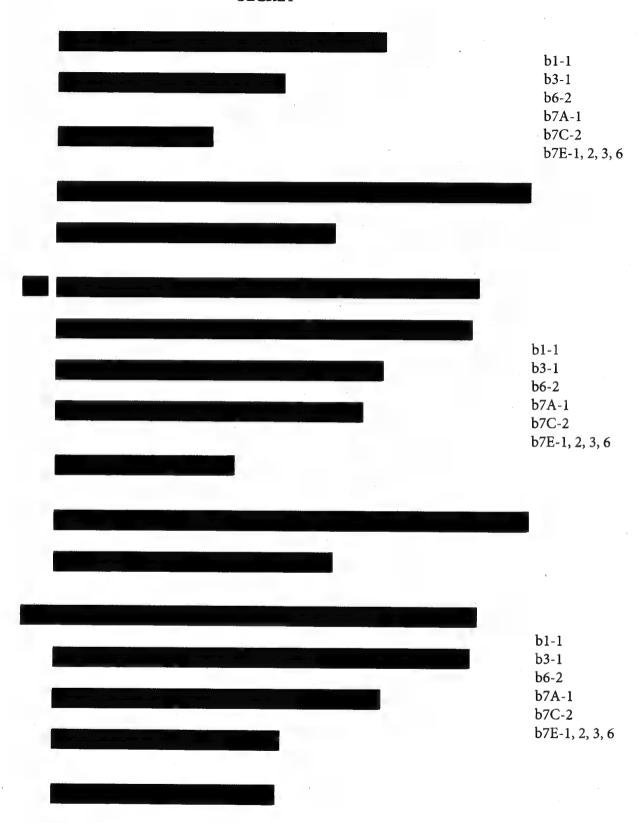
any other information furnished unde

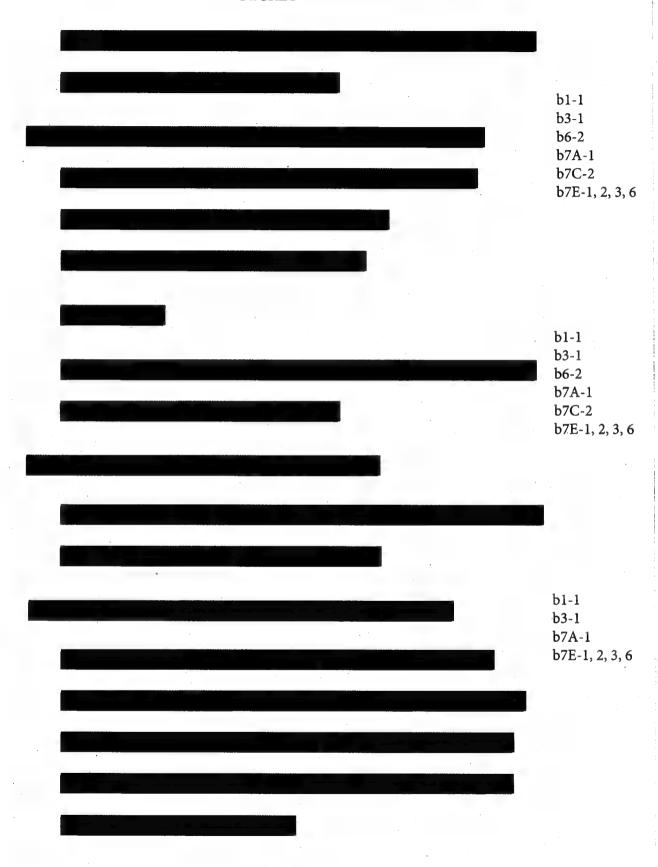
WHEREFORE, IT IS HEREBY ORDERED, pursuant to the authority conferred on this Court by the Act, that the application of the United States is GRANTED, and it is

FURTHER ORDERED, as follows:

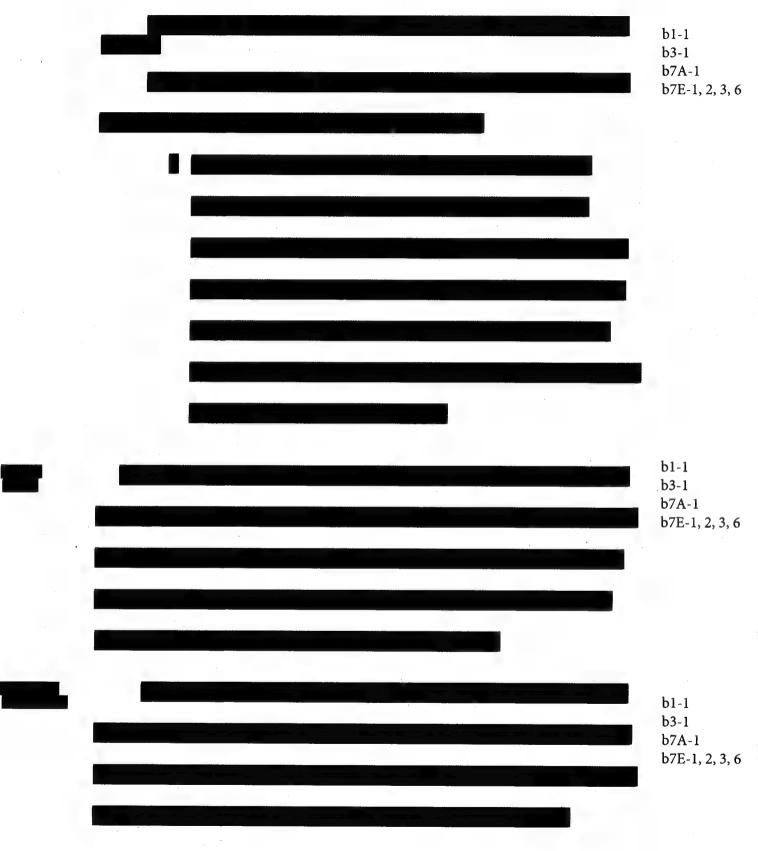
of the target as follows;	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3,
	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

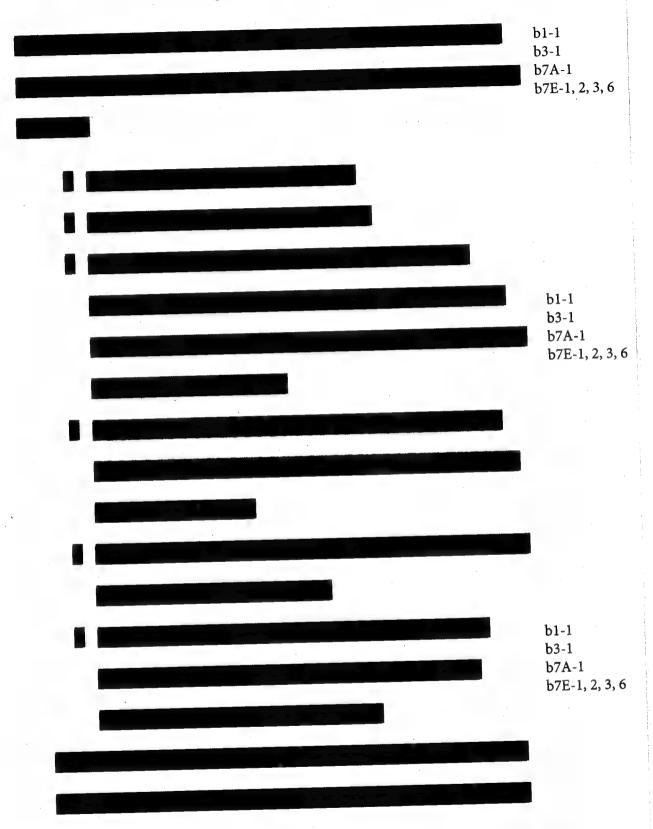


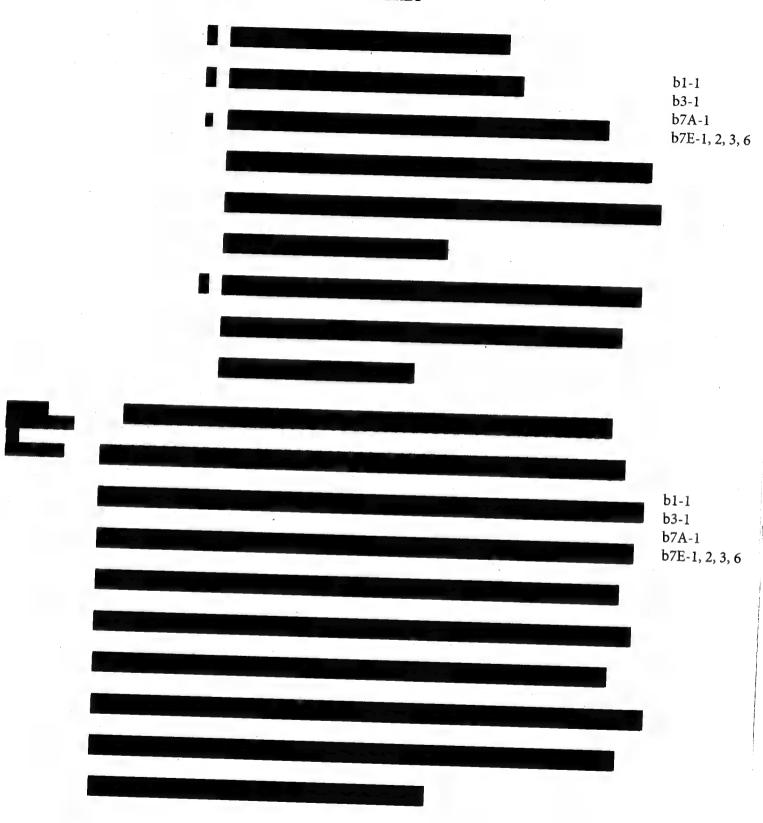






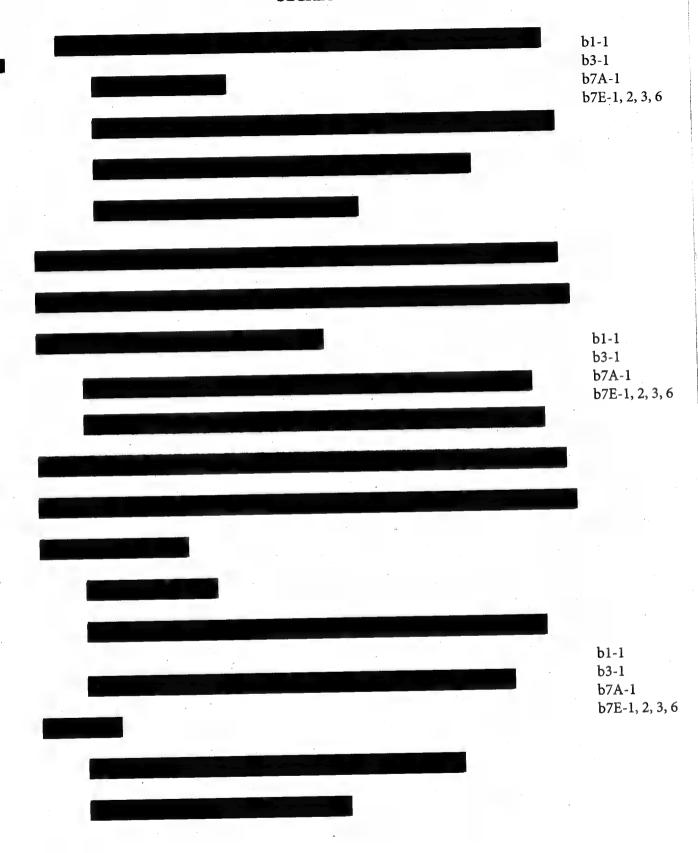






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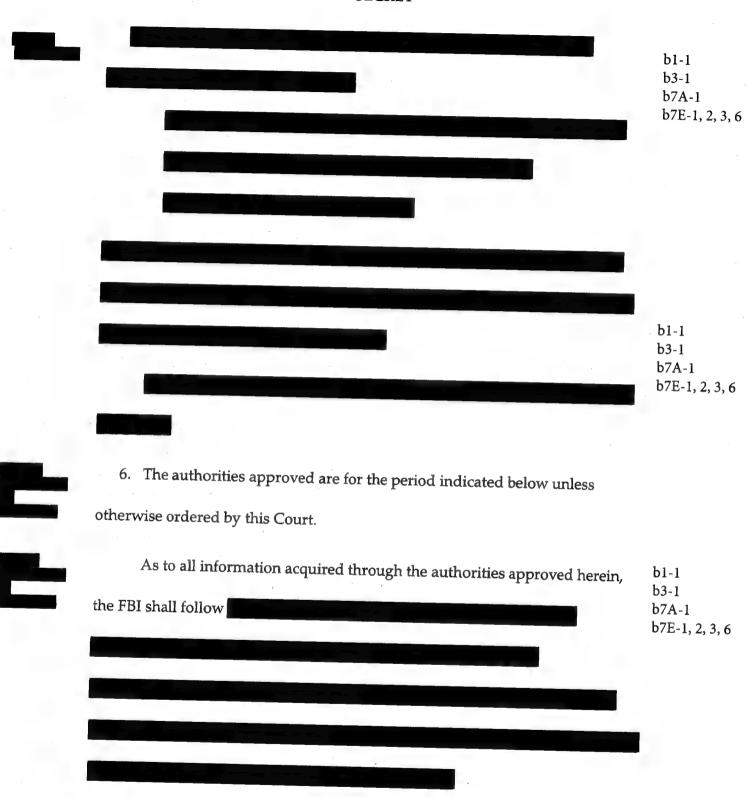
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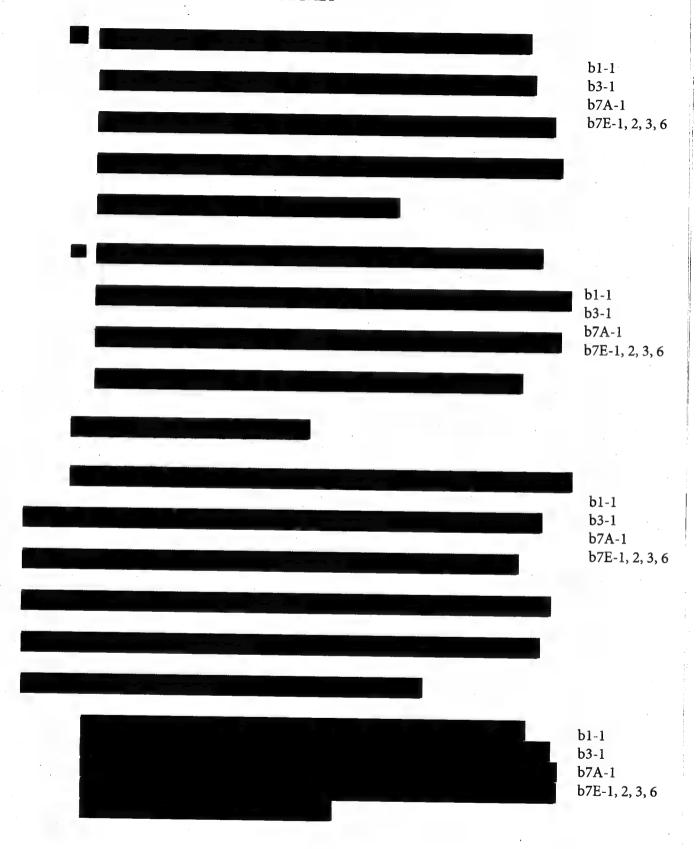


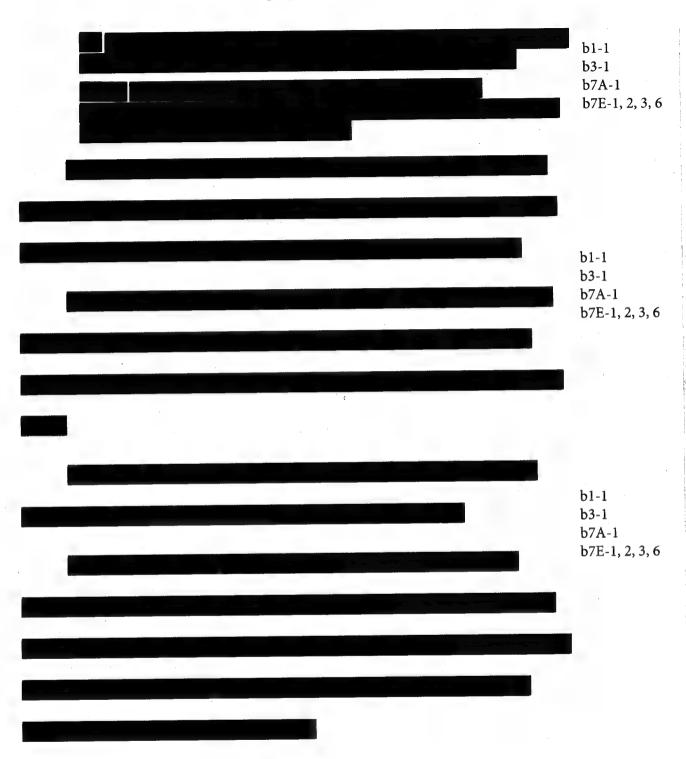
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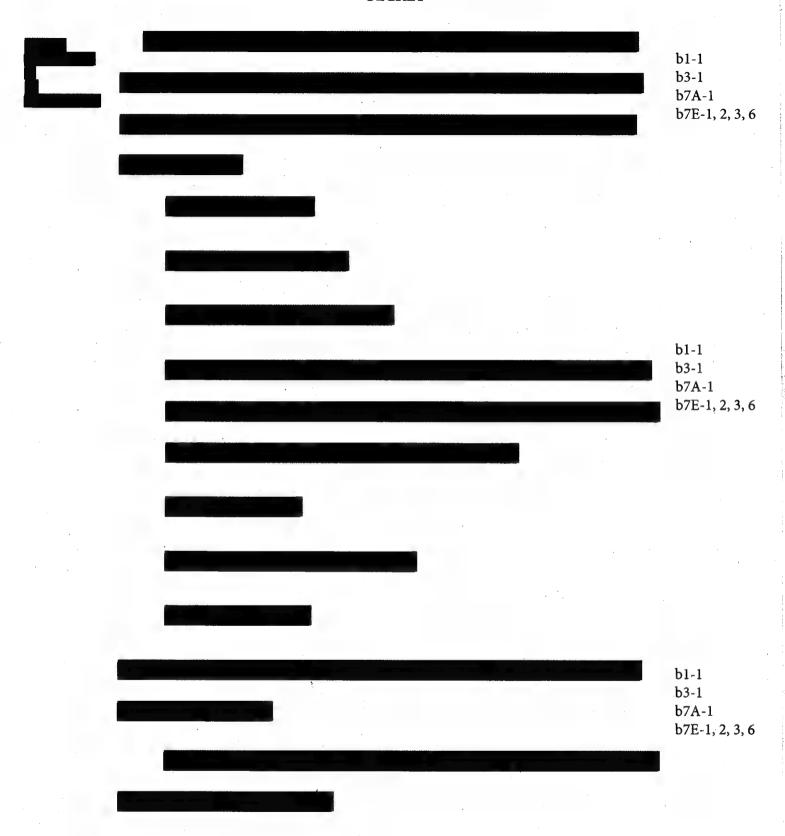
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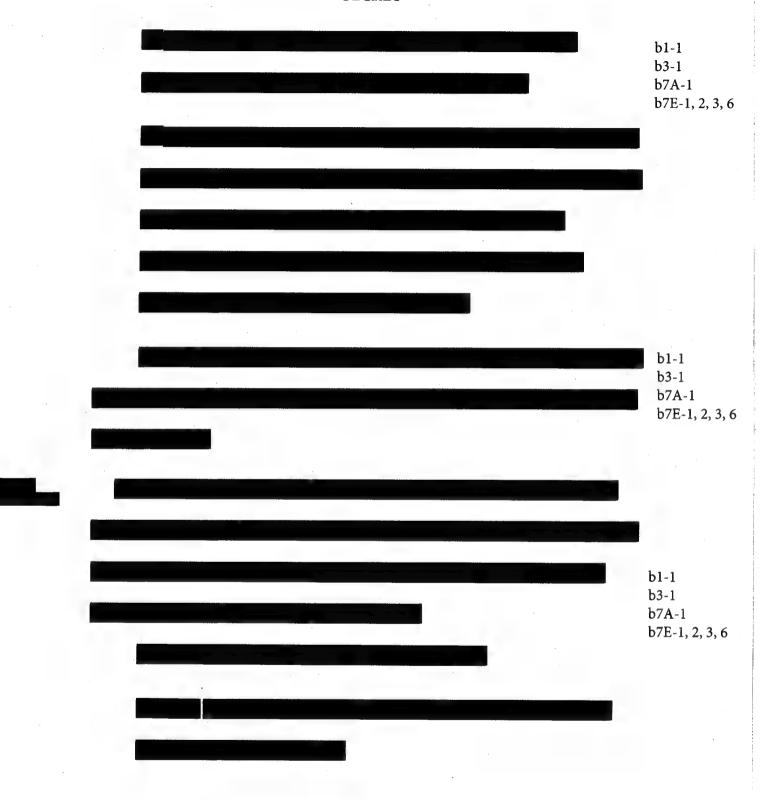
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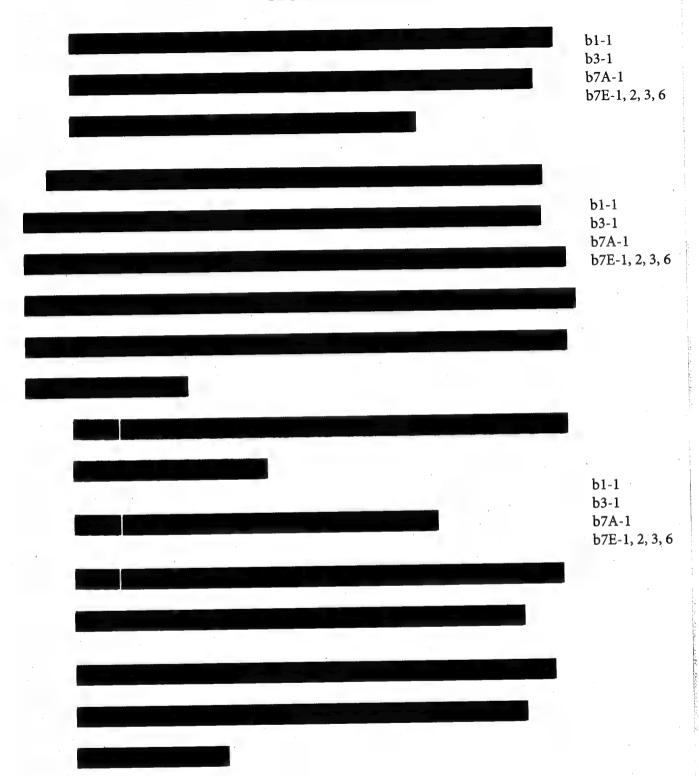




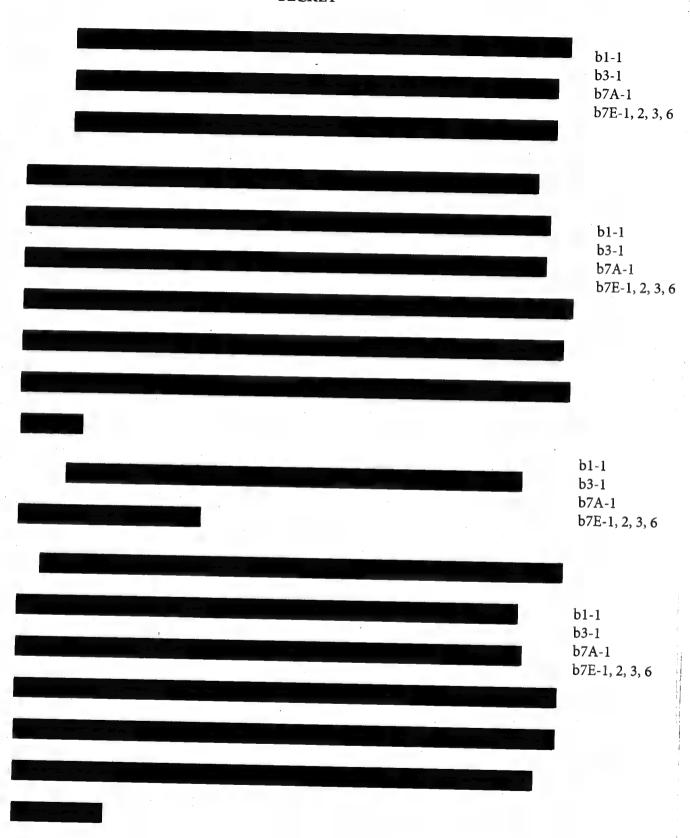




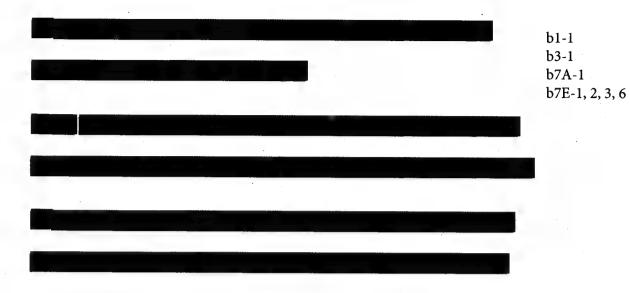




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ANNE C. CONWAY

Judge, United States Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court

FISC, certify that the document is a true and correct copy of the original.

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All information is considered unclass except where otherwise shown.	fied	UNITED STATES		2017 July	
Classify By: J23J98T32 Reason: (C) Derived From: FBI NSICG, dated 06-2017 Declassify On:	FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE WASHING		b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1	LEAKS TOWN	
	TTER W. PAGE, A U.S.	Docket Numbe	r:	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-	1
	(U) VERIFIED	APPLICATION			
(%) The	United States of America he	ereby applies to t	his Court f	or authority to	
conduct to the Foreign	Intelligence Surveillance Ac				b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
States Code (J.S.C.), §§	(FISA or	the Act).		
made by		Special Agent (SS	SA) of the F	ederal Bureau	b3-1 b6-1 b7A-1
of Investigati	on (FBI) whose official dutie	es at FBI Headqu	arters inclu	ide supervision	b7C-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
of the FBI's i	nvestigation of the above-ca	ptioned target ba	sed upon i	nformation	
officially fur	nished to				
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C	lassified by:			b1-1 b3-1	

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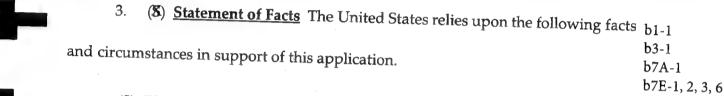
b7A-1

2. (8) <u>Identity of the Target</u> The target of this application is Carter W.

Page, a U.S. person, and an agent of a foreign power, described in detail below. The b1-1 b3-1 status of the target was determined in or about June 2017 from information provided b7A-

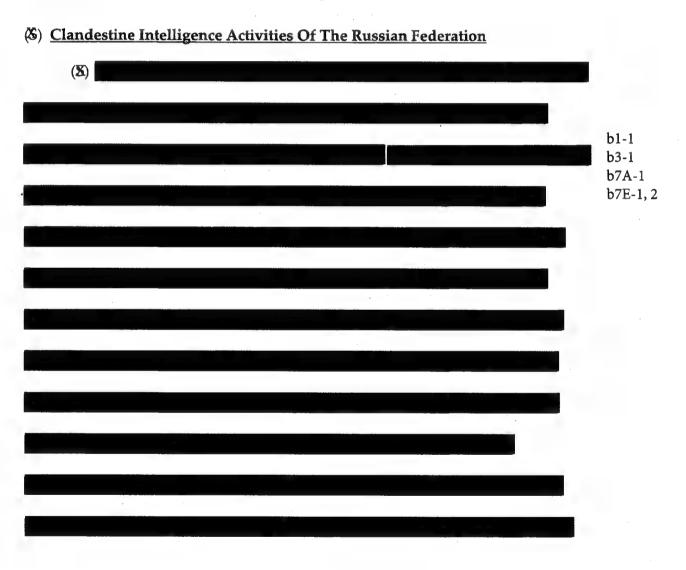
b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

by the U.S. Department of State.



- a. (3) The target of this application is an agent of a foreign power.
- (\$\mathbb{X}) The following describes the foreign power and sets forth in detail a description of the target and the target's activities for or on behalf of this foreign power.
- (U) (S) This verified application reports on developments in the FBI's investigation of the above captioned target since the most recent application described herein. Unless stated otherwise herein, information presented in previous applications has been summarized or removed not because it was factually inaccurate but in order to create a more concise document.
- (U) (☼) The Government of the Russian Federation is a foreign power as defined by 50 U.S.C. § 1801(a)(1).

(U) (S) The Government of the Russian Federation (Russia) is an internationally recognized foreign government and, as of the execution of this application, is listed in the <u>Diplomatic List</u>, published by the United States Department of State, and in <u>Permanent Missions to the United Nations</u>, published by the United Nations, and its establishments in the United States are components thereof.







(U) (S) Carter W. Page

knowingly engage in clandestine intelligence activities (other than intelligence gathering activities) for or on behalf of such foreign power, which activities involve or are about to involve a violation of the criminal statutes of the United States, or knowingly conspires with other persons to engage in such activities and, therefore, is an agent of a foreign power stated by 50 U.S.C. § 1801(b)(2)(E).

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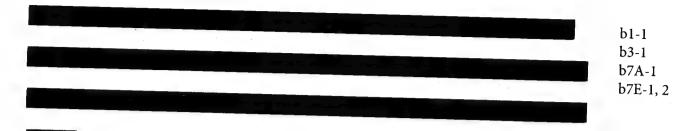
b3-1 b7A-1

b7E-1, 2

(U) Overview. T. (%//XX) This application seeks renewed authority to conduct b1-1 of Carter Page. The FBI believes that Page has been b3-1 b6-2 b7A-1 the subject of targeted recruitment by the Russian Government b7C-2 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 (%//NK) Page is a former foreign policy advisor to a Candidate for U.S. President (Candidate #1).1 As discussed in greater detail below, the FBI believes that the Russian Government engaged in efforts to undermine and influence the outcome b1-1 b3-1 of the 2016 U.S. Presidential election. b7A-1 b7E-1, 2 ¹ (§) On or about November 8, 2016, Candidate #1 was elected President. b1-1 Although Candidate #1 is now the President, in order to maintain the historical b3-1 accuracy of the background information, unless otherwise stated, the original b7A-1 references to Candidate #1 and members of Candidate #1's campaign team will

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remain the same as in previous applications filed in this matter (see docket numbers



- II. (U) (S//NE) The FBI Believes that the Russian Government Engages in Influence Operations Against the United States.
 - (U) A. (X/MR) RIS Efforts to Influence U.S. Presidential Elections.

organization, the then Director of National Intelligence (DNI) stated, "Russia has tried to influence U.S. elections since the 1960s during the Cold War" and "there's a tradition in Russia of interfering with elections, their own and others." The then DNI commented that this influence included providing money to particular candidates or providing disinformation. The then DNI added that "it shouldn't come as a big shock to people, ... I think it's more dramatic maybe because they have the cyber tools that they can bring to bear in the same effort."

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b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2

	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2
(SY/NK) In or about July 2016, WikiLeaks released a trove of e-mails from the Democratic National Committee (DNC). ²	b1-1 b3-1
There has been speculation in the U.S. media that the Russian Government was behind the hack. Russia has publicly denied any involvement in the hack. Russian President Vladimir Putin said in or about September 2016 that Russia was not responsible for the hack, but said that the release of the DNC documents was a	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3
net positive: "The important thing is the content that was given to the public." Despite Russia's denial,	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3
² (S//NK) According to information on its website, WikiLeaks is a multinational media organization and associated library. WikiLeaks specializes in the analysis and publication of large datasets of censored or otherwise restricted official	

materials involving war, spying, and corruption. According to open source information, in or about July 2016, WikiLeaks released thousands of e-mails it says are from the accounts of DNC officials.

b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1

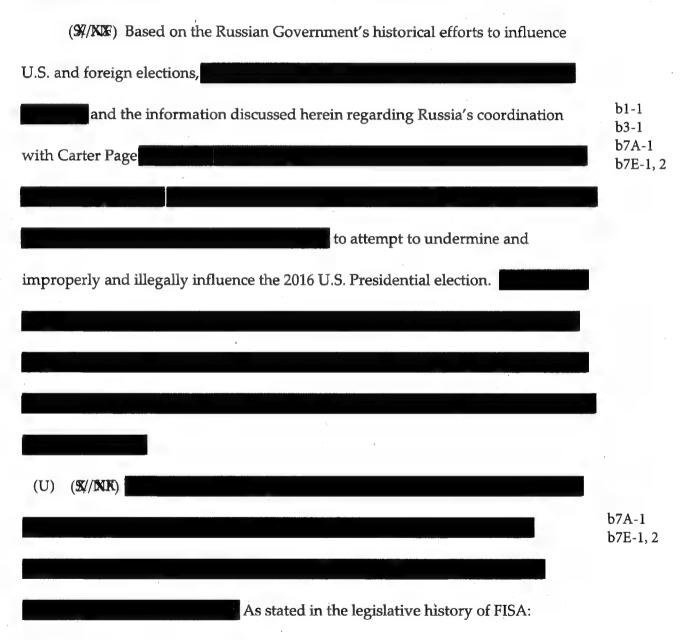
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In

addition, according to an October 7, 2016 Joint Statement from the Department of Homeland Security and the Office of the Director of National Intelligence on Election Security (Election Security Joint Statement), the USIC is confident that the Russian Government directed the recent compromises of e-mails from U.S. persons and institutions, including from U.S. political organizations. The Election Security Joint Statement states that the recent disclosures of e-mails on, among others, sites like WikiLeaks are consistent with the methods and motivations of Russian-directed efforts. According to the Election Security Joint Statement, these thefts and disclosures were intended to interfere with the U.S. election process; activity that is not new to Moscow - the Russians have used similar tactics and techniques across Europe and Eurasia, for example, to influence public opinion there. The Election Security Joint Statement stated that, based on the scope and sensitivity of these efforts, only Russia's senior-most officials could have authorized these activities. More recently, on December 29, 2016, the White House issued a statement that the U.S. President had ordered a number of actions in response to the Russian Government's aggressive harassment of U.S. officials and cyber operations aimed at the U.S. election. According to this December 29th statement, the U.S. Presidential

Administration publicized its assessment in October [2016] that Russia took actions intended to interfere with the U.S. election process and that these activities could only have been directed by the highest levels of the Russian Government [in context, this is likely a reference to the Election Security Joint Statement].



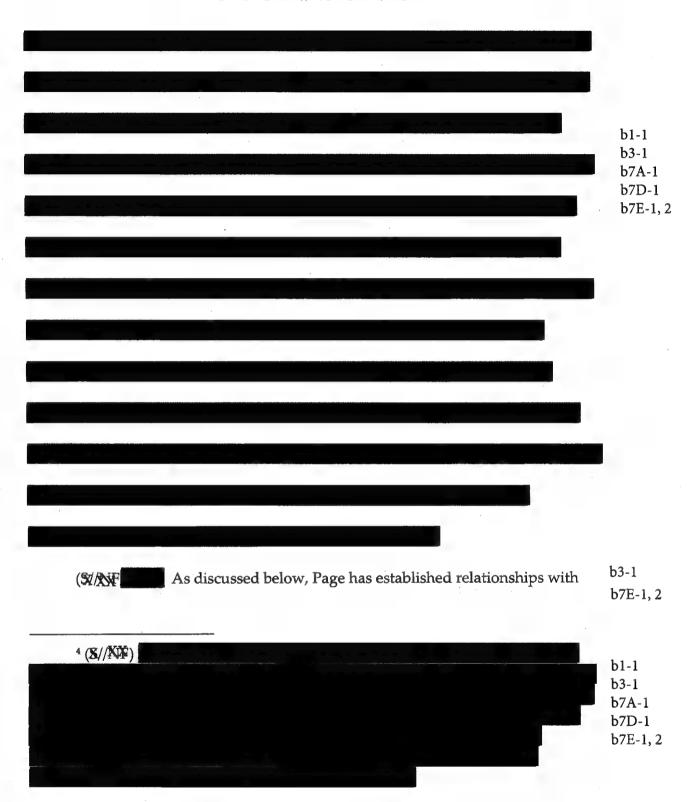
Not only do foreign powers engage in spying in the United States to obtain information, they also engage in activities which are intended to harm the Nation's security by affecting the course of our Government, the course of public opinion, or the activities of individuals. Such activities may include political action (recruiting, bribery or influencing of public officials to act in favor of the foreign power), disguised propaganda (including the planting of false or misleading articles or stories), and harassment, intimidation, or even assassination of individuals who oppose the foreign power. Such activity can undermine our democratic institutions as well as directly threaten the peace and safety of our citizens.

H.R. Rep. No. 95-1283, pt. 1, at 41 (1978).

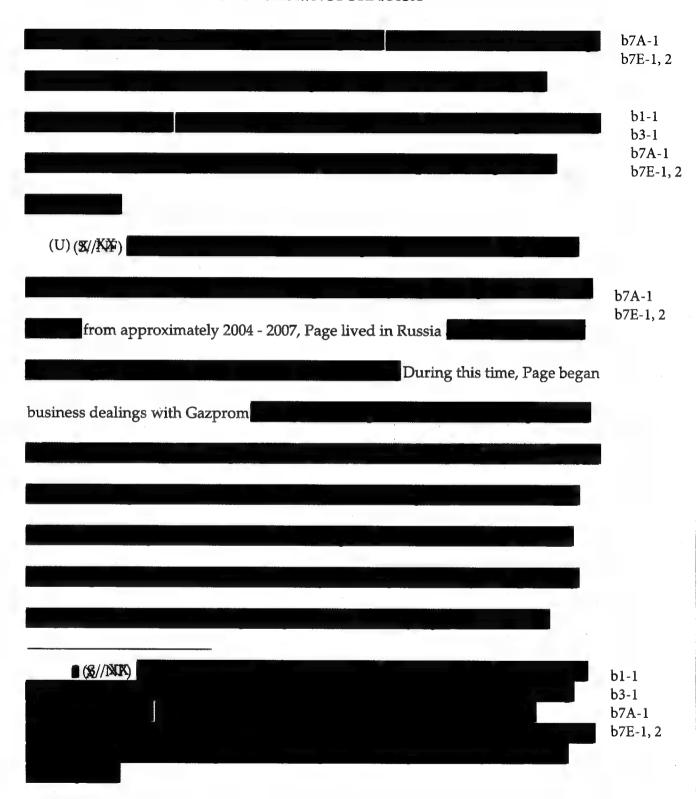
(U) B. (X/XX) The Russian Government's Coordinated Efforts to Influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election.

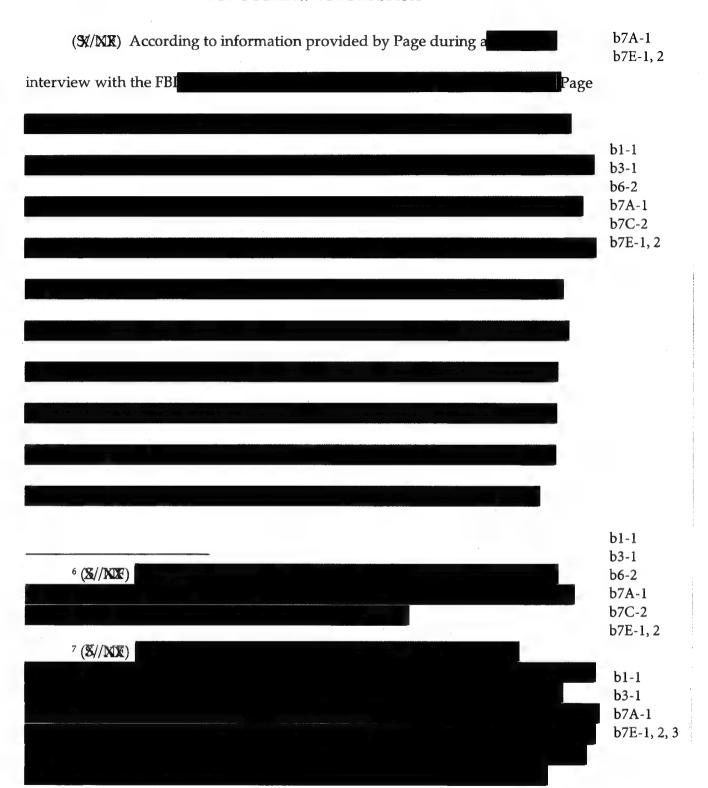
(\$\frac{\text{X}}{\text{NF}}\) In or about March 2016, George Papadopoulos³ and Carter Page (the

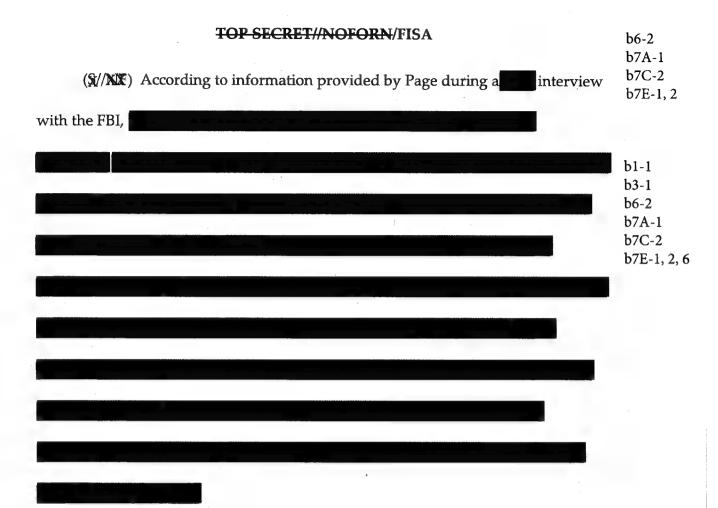
target of this application) were publicly identified by Candidate #1 as part of his/her b1-1 foreign policy team. b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2 the FBI believes that the Russian Government's efforts to influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential election were being coordinated with Page and perhaps other b1-1 individuals associated with Candidate #1's campaign. b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2 b1-1 ³ (**§**) b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2



Russian Government officials, including Russian intelligence officers,	b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2	
	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3	
III. (U)(S) <u>Carter Page</u> .		
(U) A. (S) Page's Connections to Russia and the RIS.		
(X/XX) Page, a U.S. citizen, is the founder and managing partner of Global		
Energy Capital LLC (GEC), an investment management and advisory firm that		
focuses on the energy sector primarily in emerging markets.		

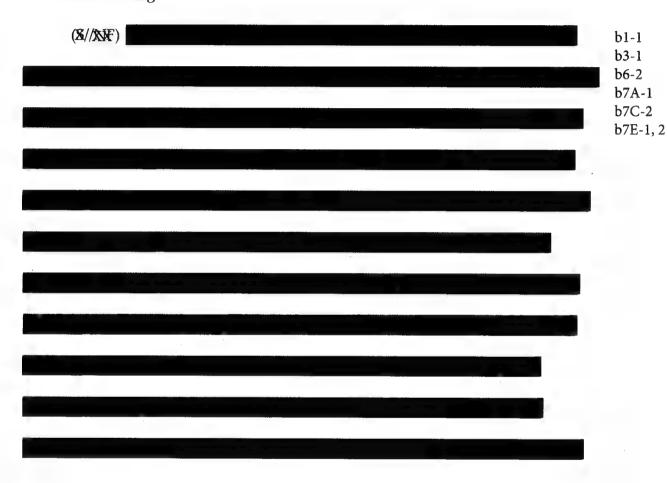






(U) (\$\frac{\(\)}{\(\)} \rightarrow{\(\)}{\(\)}{\(\)} \rightarrow{\(\)}{\(\)}{\(\)} \rightarrow{\(\)}{\(

Russia.⁸ The complaint states that the intelligence gathering efforts of Podobnyy and Sporyshev included, among other things, attempting to recruit New York City residents as intelligence sources for Russia.



⁽U) 8 (X/NX) Buryakov was arrested in or about January 2015. At the time of Buryakov's arrest, Podobnyy and Sporyshev no longer lived in the United States and were not arrested. In or about March 2016, Buryakov pled guilty to conspiring to act in the United States as an agent of Russia without providing prior notice to the Attorney General. In or about May 2016, Buryakov was sentenced to 30 months in prison. According to information provided by the Federal Bureau of Prisons, Buryakov was released on March 31, 2017.

	b1-1 b3-1 b6-2 b7A-1 b7C-2
	b7E-1, 2
(U) B. (\$\forall /NK) Page's Coordination with Russian Government Officials on 2016 U.S. Presidential Election Influence Activities.	
(\$//XX) According to open source information, in July 2016, Page traveled to	
Russia and delivered the commencement address at the New Economic School. ⁹ In	
addition to giving this address, the FBI learned that Page met with at least two	
Russian officials during this trip. First, according to information provided by an FBI	b1-1 b3-1
confidential human source (Source #1),10 reported that Page had a	b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2
(U)9 (% // N *)	b3-1
10 (500) (500)	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 4
10 (XS//NX) Source #1 i was opened as an FBI source	
Source #1 has been compensated by the FBI. As (TX) discussed below in footnote 22, in or about October 2016, the FBI suspended its	b1-1 b3-1
relationship with Source #1 due to Source #1's unauthorized disclosure of	b7A-1

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information to the press. <u>Subsequently, the FBI closed Source #1 as an FBI source</u>. Nevertheless, the FBI assesses Source #1 to be reliable as previous reporting from Source #1 has been corroborated and used in criminal proceedings. Moreover, the

b7E-1, 2, 5

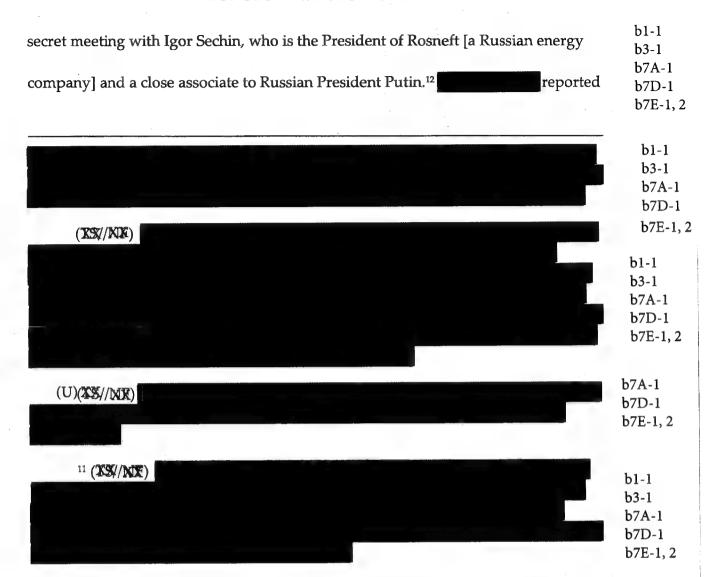
FBI notes that the incident that led the FBI to terminate its relationship with Source #1 occurred after Source #1 provided the reporting that is described herein.

(U) (KS/MR) Source #1, who now owns a foreign business/financial intelligence firm, was approached by an identified U.S. person, who indicated to Source #1 that a U.S.-based law firm had hired the identified U.S. person to conduct research regarding Candidate #1's ties to Russia (the identified U.S. person and Source #1 have a long-standing business relationship). The identified U.S. person hired Source #1 to conduct this research. The identified U.S. person never advised Source #1 as to the motivation behind the research into Candidate #1's ties to Russia. The FBI speculates that the identified U.S. person was likely looking for information that could be used to discredit Candidate #1's campaign.

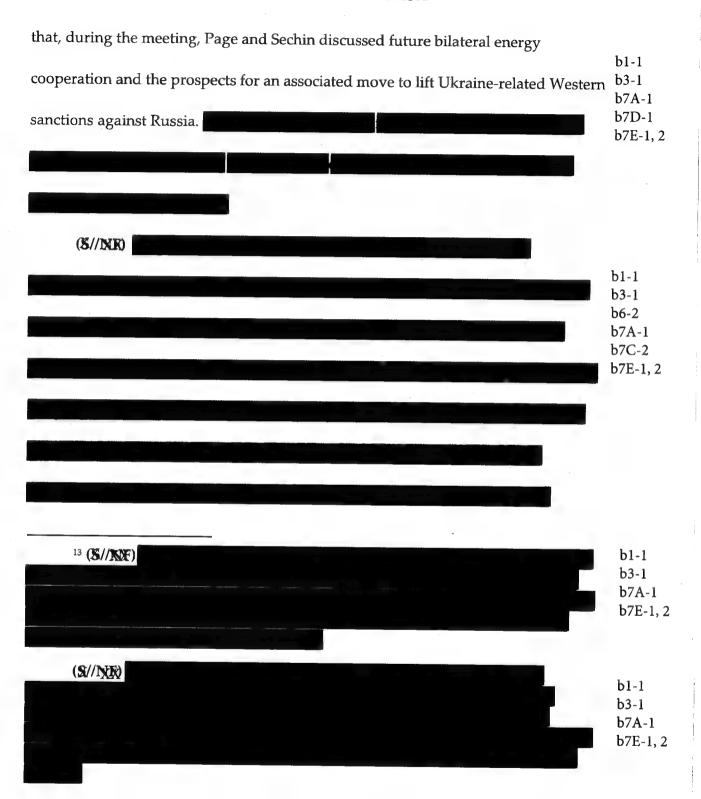
(U)(XS//NR) Source #1 tasked his sub-source(s) to collect the requisite information. After Source #1 received information from the sub-source(s) described herein, Source #1 provided the information to the identified U.S. person who had hired Source #1 and to the FBI. b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2 (XX//XX) Notwithstanding Source #1's reason for conducting the research into Candidate #1's ties to Russia, based on Source #1's previous reporting history with the FBI, whereby Source #1 provided reliable information to the FBI, the FBI b1-1 believes Source #1's reporting herein to be credible. b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2 (XX/XX)b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1

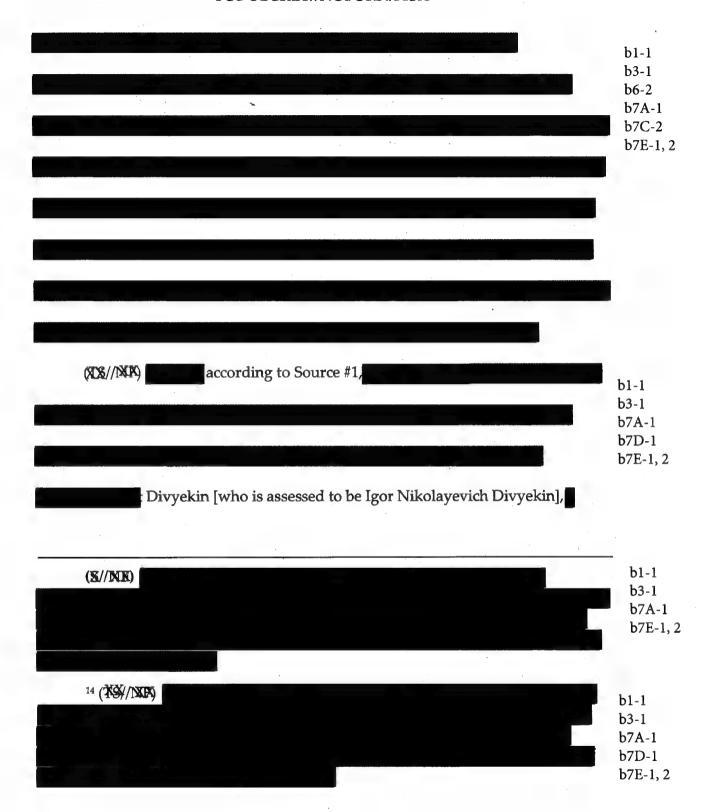
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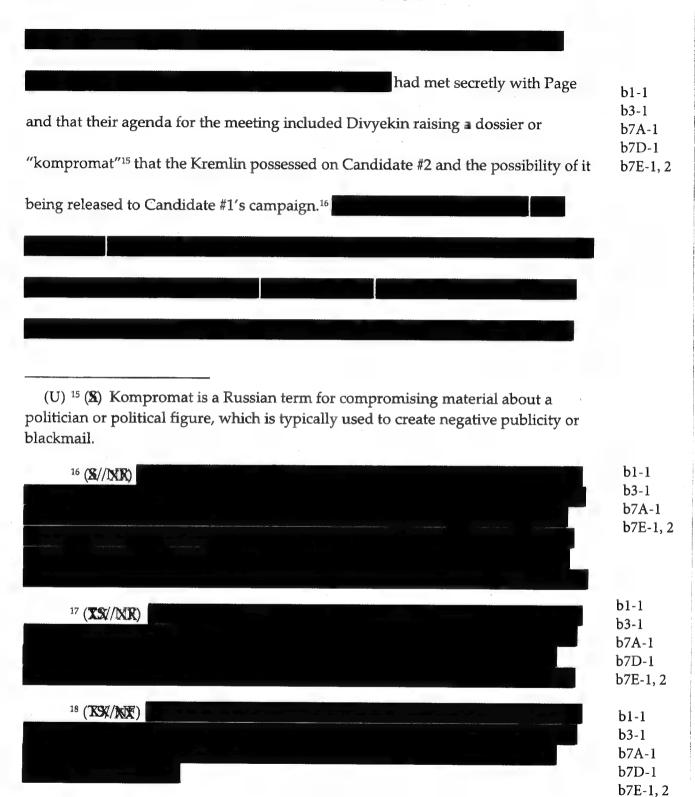
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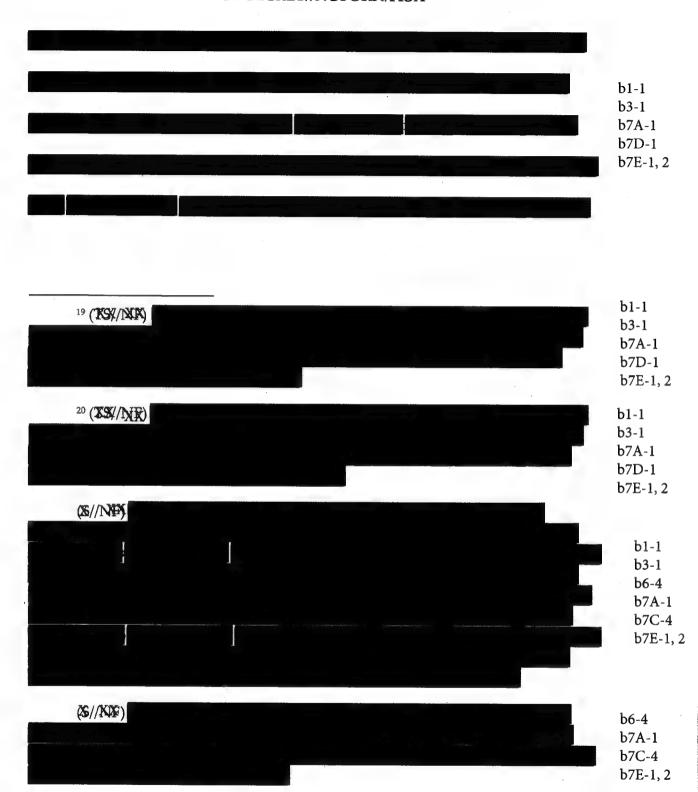


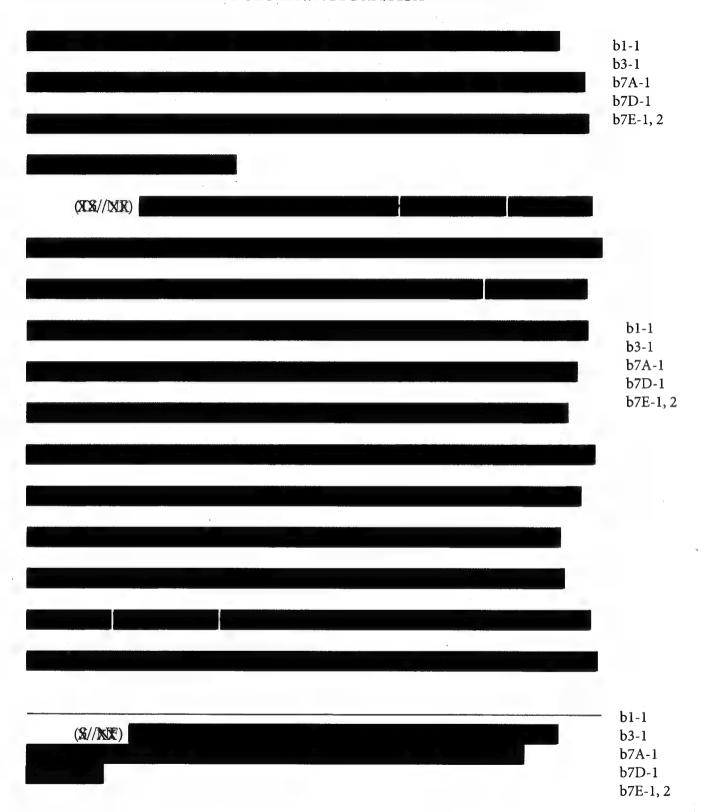
¹² (S//NK) In or about April 2014, the U.S. Department of the Treasury (USDOT) announced sanctions that would be taken against Russian Government officials and entities as a result of Russian efforts to destabilize Ukraine. Sechin was identified as an official of the Russian Government, and further identified as the President and Chairman of the Management Board for Rosneft, ■ position he continues to hold. The USDOT announcement also stated Sechin was formerly the Deputy Prime Minister of the Russian Federation from 2008 until 2012, and from 2004 until 2008, Sechin was the Deputy Chief of Staff for Russian President Putin. The USDOT sanctions announcement identified Sechin as someone who has "shown utter loyalty to Vladimir Putin − a key component to his current standing."





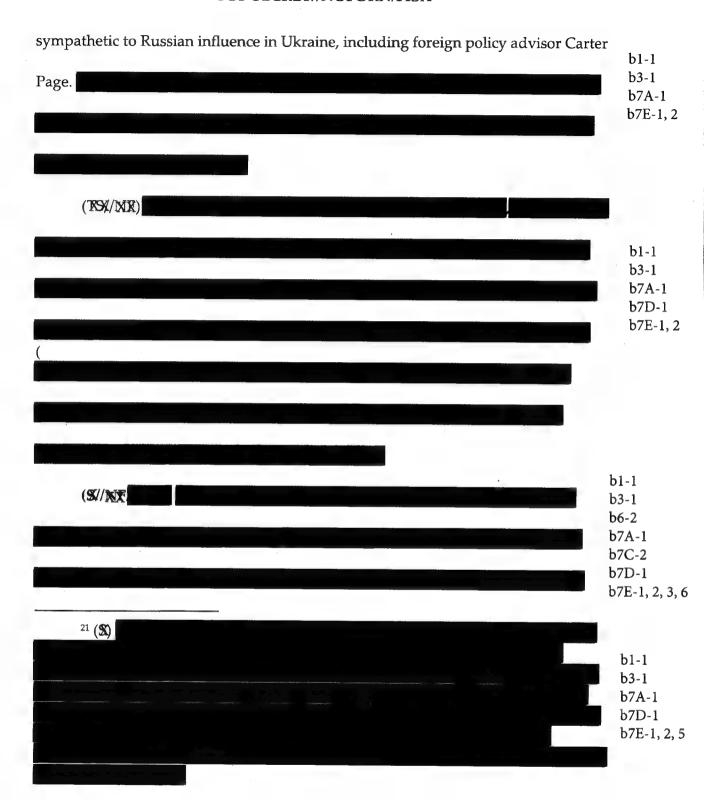


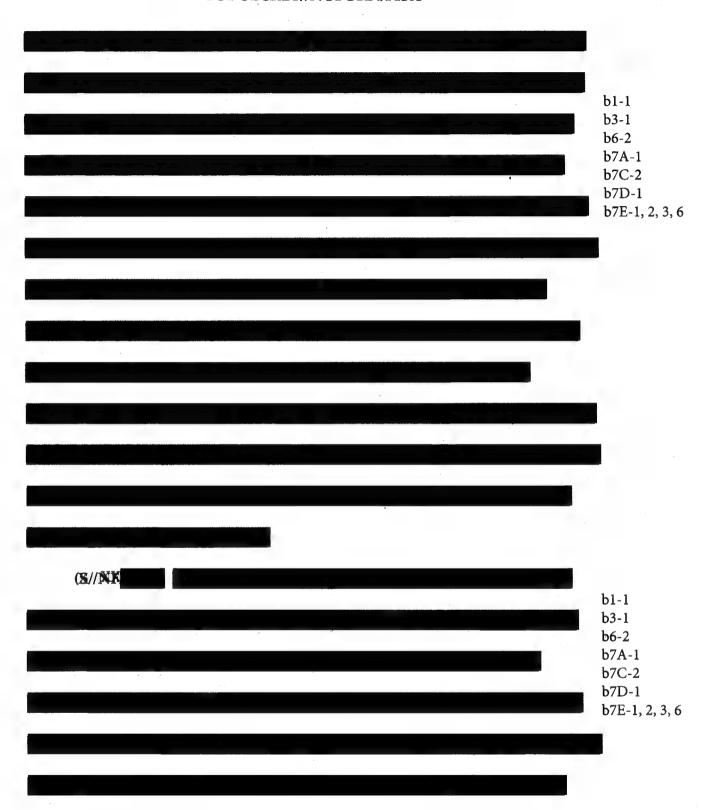


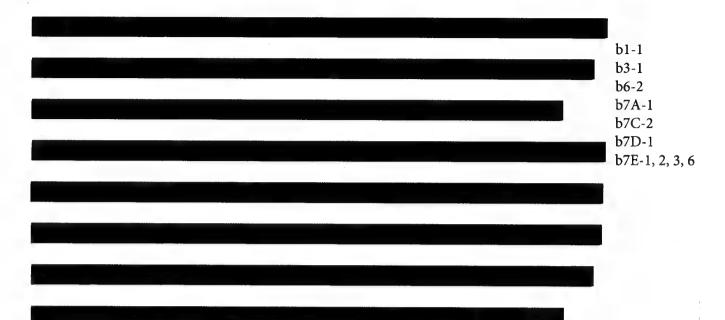


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a July 2016 article in an identified news organization reported that Candidate #1's campaign worked behind the scenes to make sure Political Party #1's platform would not call for giving weapons to Ukraine to fight Russian and rebel forces, contradicting the view of almost all Political Party #1's foreign policy leaders in Washington. The article stated that Candidate #1's campaign sought "to make sure that [Political Party #1] would not pledge to give Ukraine the weapons it has been asking for from the United States." Further, an August 2016 article published by an identified news organization, which characterized Candidate #1 as sounding like a supporter of Ukraine's territorial integrity in September [2015], noted that Candidate #1 had recently adopted a "milder" tone regarding Russia's annexation of Crimea. The August 2016 article further reported that Candidate #1 said Candidate #1 might recognize Crimea as Russian territory and lift punitive U.S. sanctions against Russia. The article opined that while the reason for Candidate #1's shift was not clear, Candidate #1's more conciliatory words, which contradict Political Party #1's official platform, follow Candidate #1's recent association with several people







- IV. (U) (%//NX) Page's Denial of Cooperation with the Russian Government to Influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election.
- (U) (\$\mathbb{S}/\mathbb{N}\$) On or about September 23, 2016, an identified news organization published an article (September 23rd News Article), which was written by the news organization's Chief Investigative Correspondent, alleging that U.S. intelligence officials are investigating Page with respect to suspected efforts by the Russian Government to influence the U.S. Presidential election. According to the September 23rd News Article, U.S. officials received intelligence reports that when Page was in Moscow in July 2016 to deliver the above-noted commencement address at the New Economic School, he met with two senior Russian officials. The September 23rd News Article stated that a "well-placed Western intelligence source" told the news organization that Page met with Igor Sechin, \(\bilde{\alpha} \) longtime Putin associate and former

Russian deputy minister who is now the executive chairman of Rosneft. At their alleged meeting, Sechin raised the issue of the lifting of sanctions with Page.

According to the September 23rd News Article, the Western intelligence source also reported that U.S. intelligence agencies received reports that Page met with another top Putin aide - Igor Divyekin, a former Russian security official who now serves as deputy chief for internal policy and is believed by U.S. officials to have responsibility for intelligence collected by Russian agencies about the U.S. election.²²

The FBI does not believe that Source #1 directly

The FBI does not believe that Source #1 directly provided this information to the identified news organization that published the September 23rd News Article.

(U) (XS//NE) In or about late October 2016, however, after the FBI Director sent a letter to the U.S. Congress, which stated that the FBI had learned of new information that might be pertinent to an investigation that the FBI was conducting of Candidate #2, Source #1 told the FBI that he/she was frustrated with this action and believed it would likely influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential election. In response to Source #1's concerns, Source #1 independently, and against the prior admonishment from the FBI to speak only with the FBI on this matter, released the reporting discussed

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b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2

²² (%) As discussed above, Source #1 was hired by a business associate to conduct research into Candidate #1's ties to Russia. Source #1 provided the results of his research to the business associate, and the FBI assesses that the business associate likely provided this information to the law firm that hired the business associate in the first place. Source #1 told the FBI that he/she only provided this information to the business associate and the FBI.

- (U) (§/NE) According to the September 23rd News Article, certain members of Congress were "taken aback" after being briefed on the alleged meetings between Page and Russian officials and viewed the meetings as a possible back channel to the Russians that could undercut U.S. foreign policy. The September 23rd News Article also stated that, following the briefing, the Senate Minority Leader wrote to the FBI Director, and citing the reports of meetings between an advisor to Candidate #1 [the advisor was unnamed in the letter, but the article indicated that the advisor is Page] and "high ranking sanctioned individuals" [in context, likely a reference to Sechin] in Moscow over the summer as evidence of "significant and disturbing ties" between Candidate #1's campaign and the Kremlin that needed to be investigated by the FBI.
- (U) (\$//NK) Based on statements in the September 23rd News Article, as well as in other articles published by identified news organizations, Candidate #1's campaign repeatedly made public statements in an attempt to distance Candidate #1's campaign from Page. For example, the September 23rd News Article noted that Page's precise role in Candidate #1's campaign is unclear. According to the article, a spokesperson for Candidate #1's campaign called Page an "informal foreign"

herein to an identified news organization. Although the FBI continues to assess Source #1's reporting is reliable, as noted above, the FBI closed Source #1 as an active source.

advisor" who "does not speak for [Candidate #1] or the campaign." In addition, another spokesperson for Candidate #1's campaign said that Page "has no role" and added "[w]e are not aware of any of his activities, past or present." However, the article stated that the campaign spokesperson did not respond when asked why Candidate #1 had previously described Page as an advisor. In addition, on or about September 25, 2016, an identified news organization published an article that was based primarily on an interview with Candidate #1's then campaign manager. During the interview, the campaign manager stated, "[Page is] not part of the campaign I'm running." The campaign manager added that Page has not been part of Candidate #1's national security or foreign policy briefings since he/she became campaign manager. In response to a question from the interviewer regarding reports that Page was meeting with Russian officials to essentially attempt to conduct diplomatic negotiations with the Russian Government, the campaign manager responded, "If [Page is] doing that, he's certainly not doing it with the permission or knowledge of the campaign "

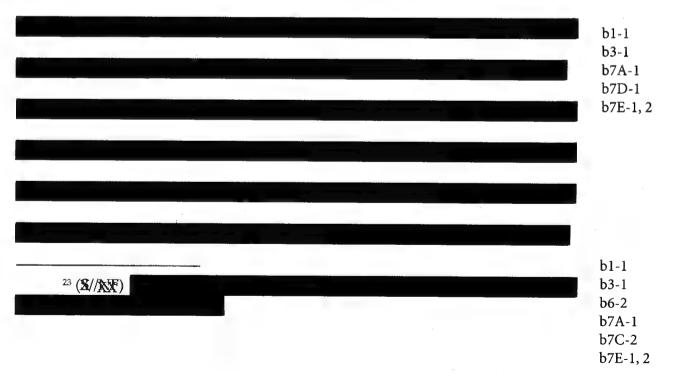
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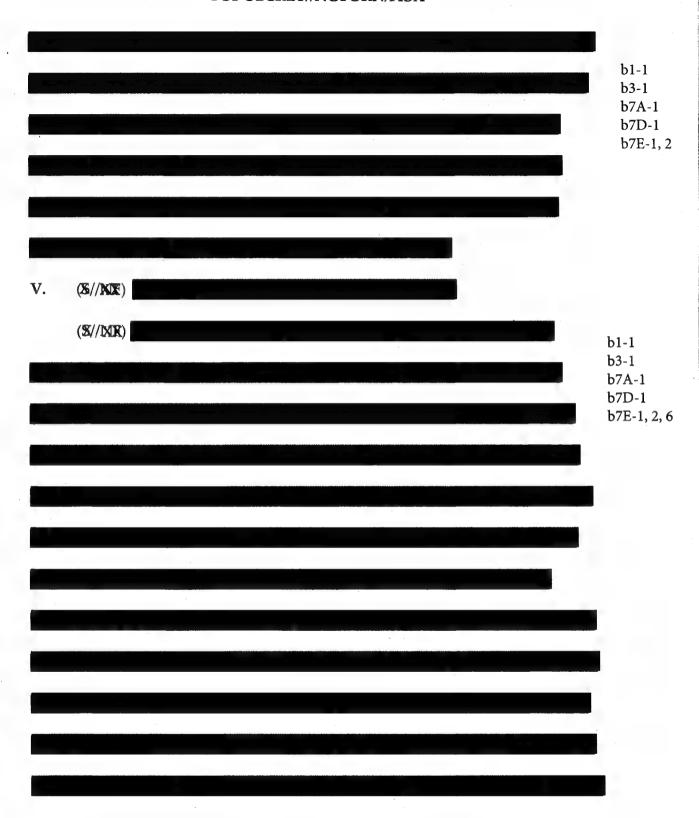
(U) (\$//XXF) On or about September 25, 2016, Page sent a letter to the FBI Director.

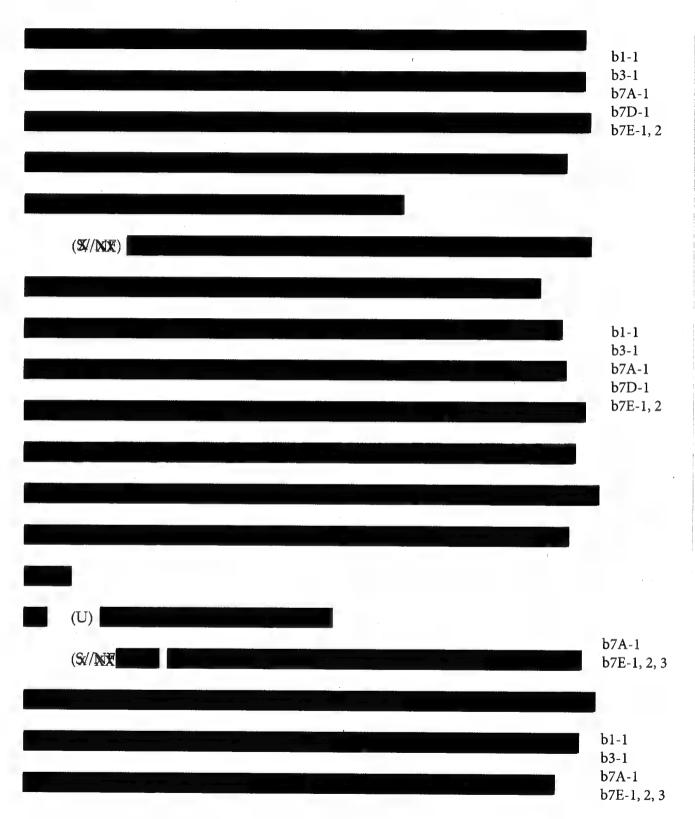
In this letter, Page made reference to the accusations in the September 23rd News

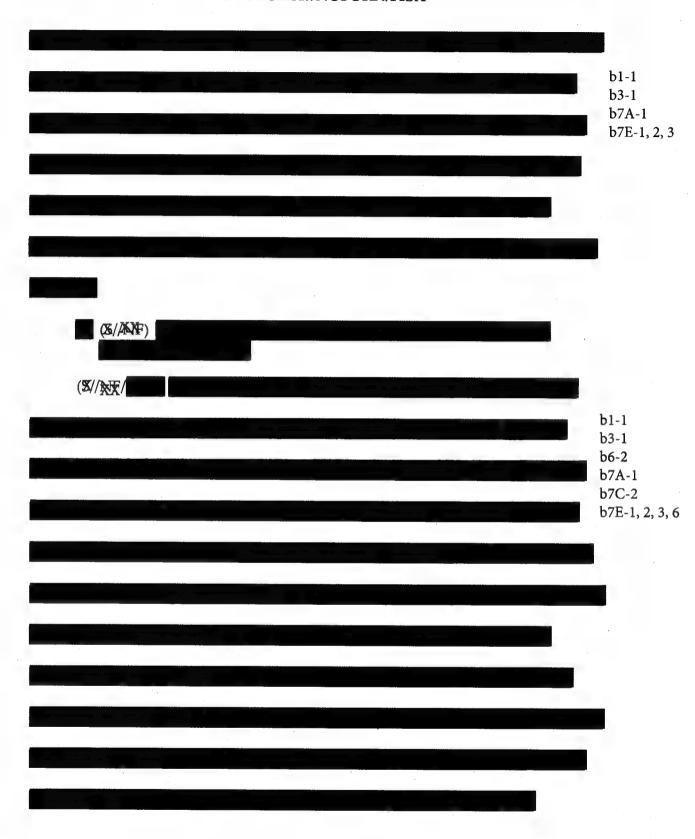
Article and denied them. Page stated that the source of the accusations was nothing
more than completely false media reports and that he did not meet with any
sanctioned official in Russia. Page also stated that he would be willing to discuss
any "final" questions the FBI may have.²³

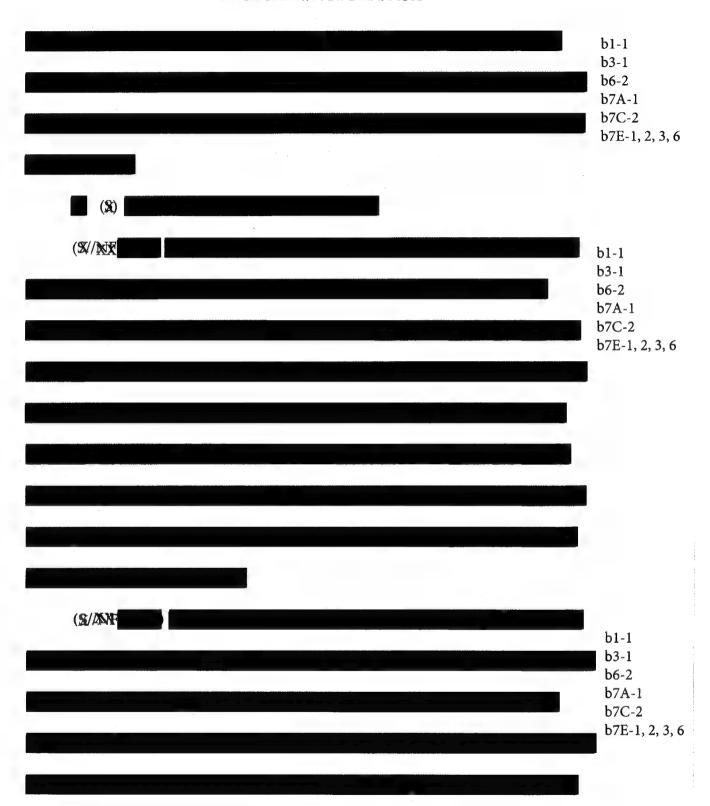
(U)(%/NK) Additionally, on or about September 26, 2016, an identified news organization published an article that was based on an interview with Page (September 26th News Article). In the September 26th News Article, Page stated that all of the accusations were complete "garbage" and that he did not meet with Sechin or Divyekin. Page also stated that he was taking a leave of absence from his work with Candidate #1's campaign because the accusations were a "distraction."

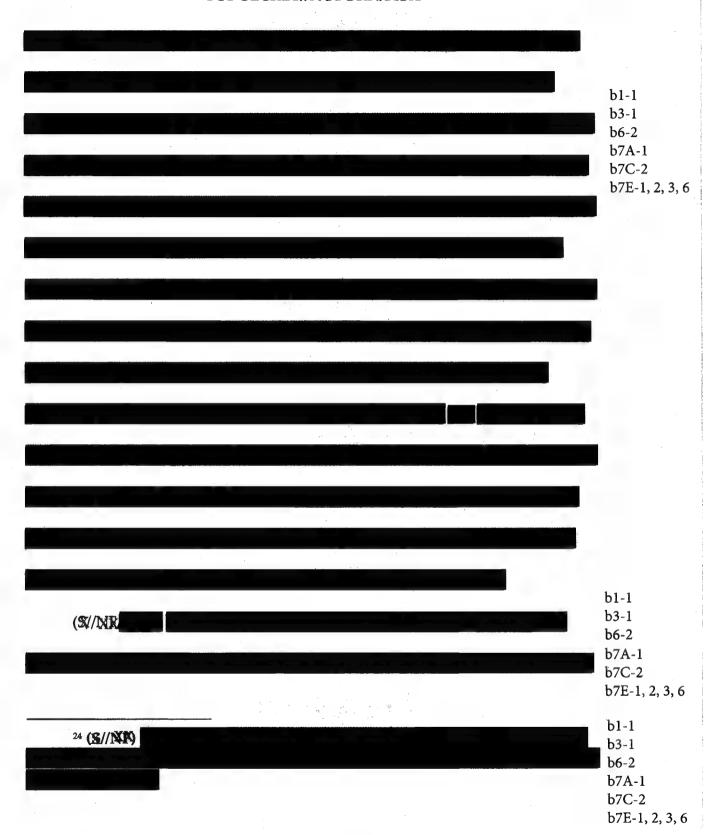


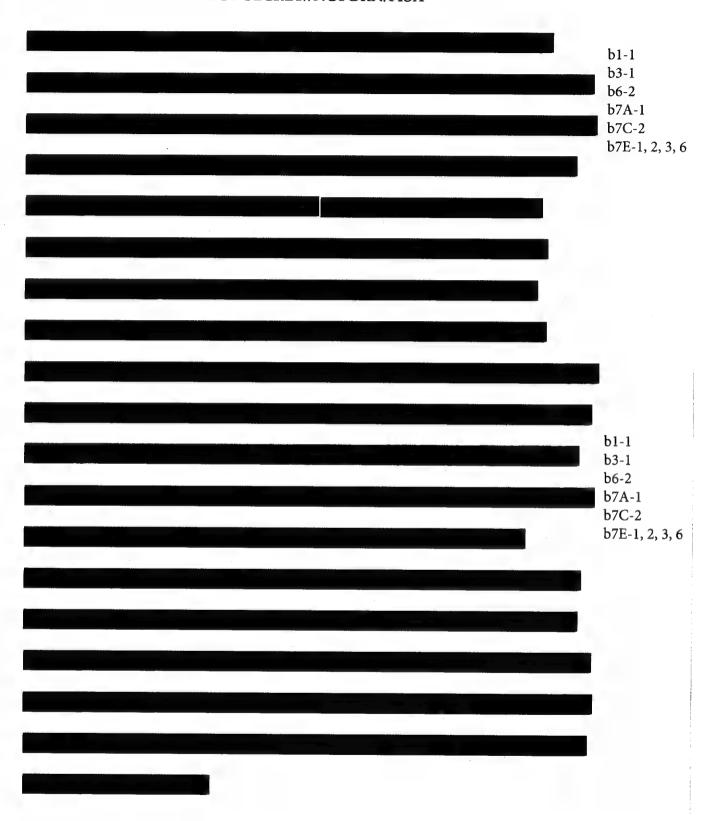


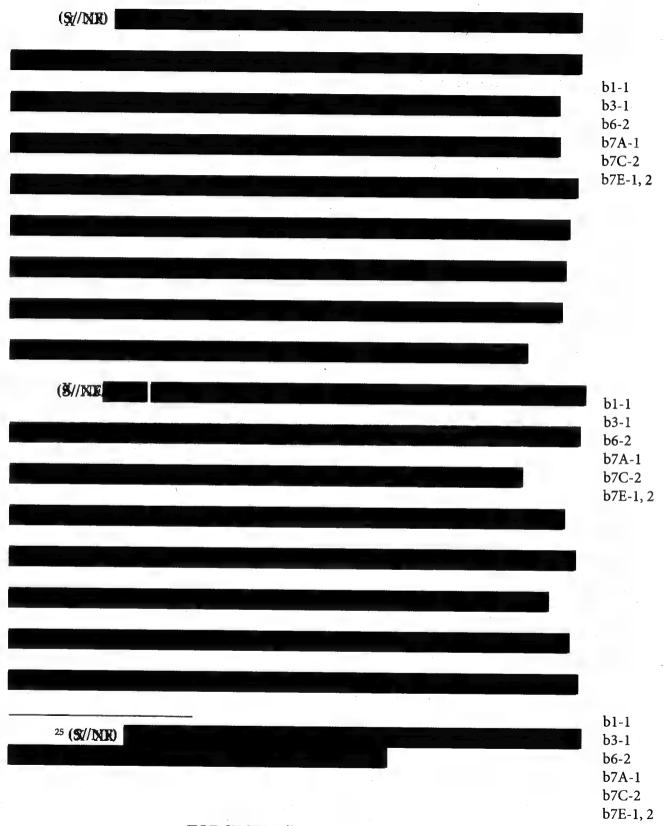


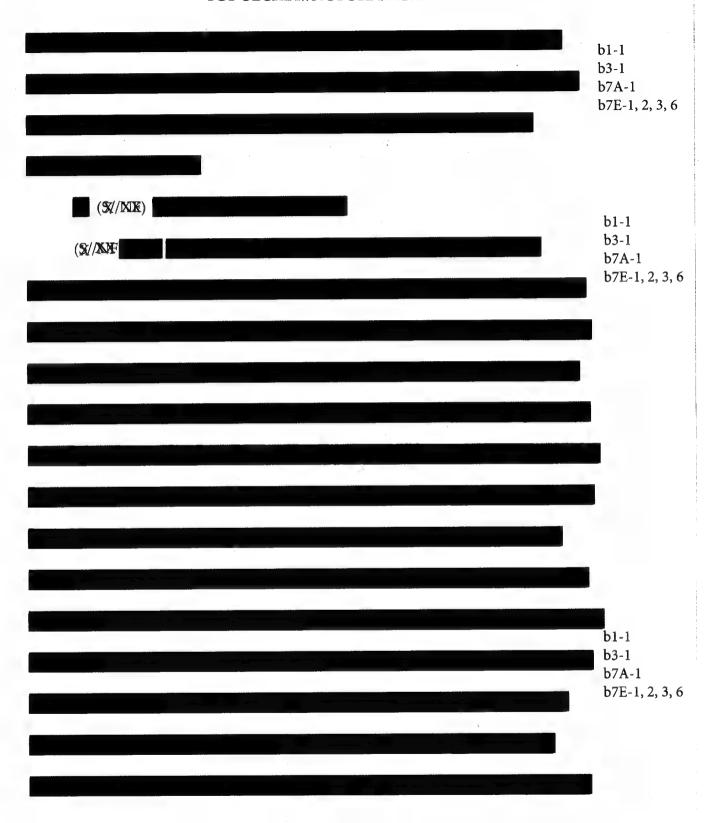




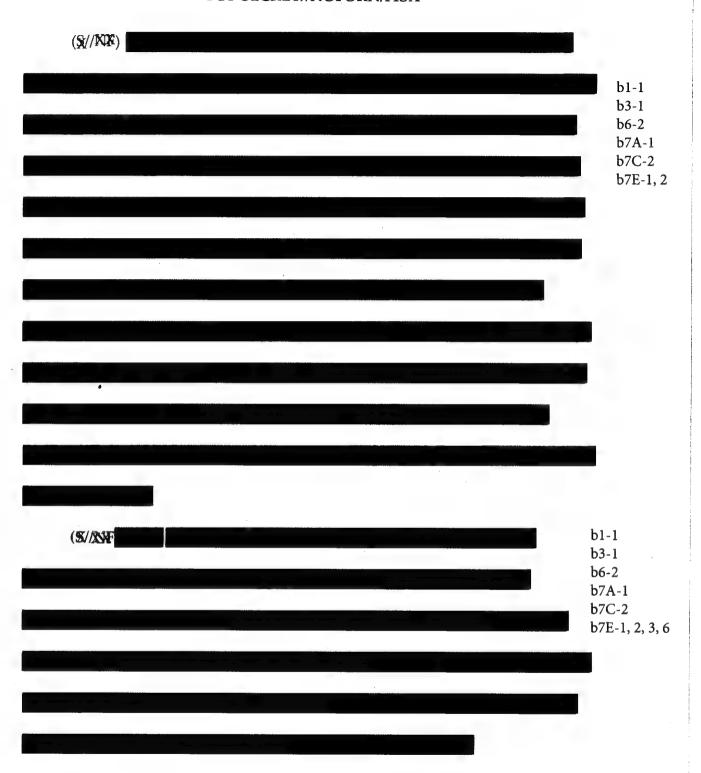


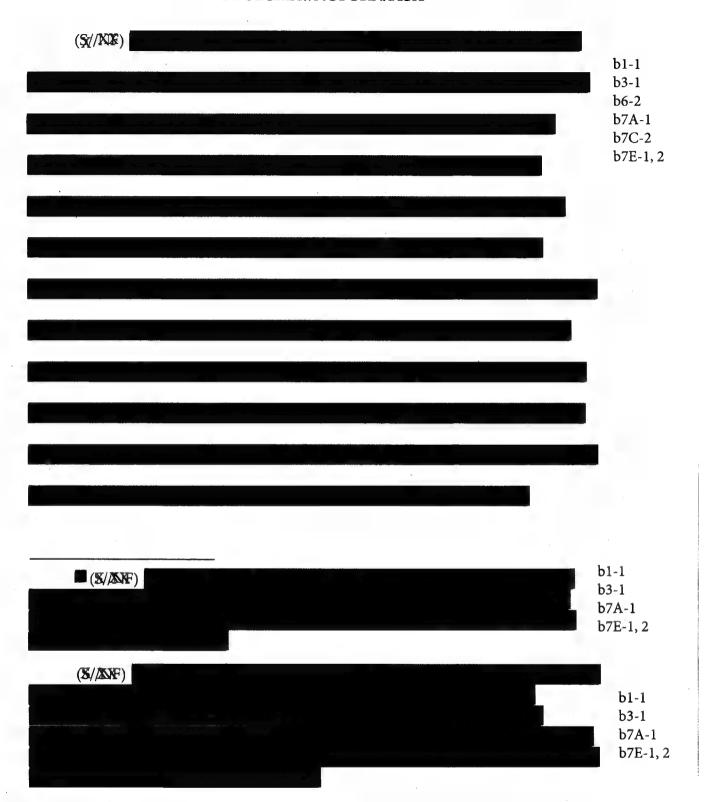


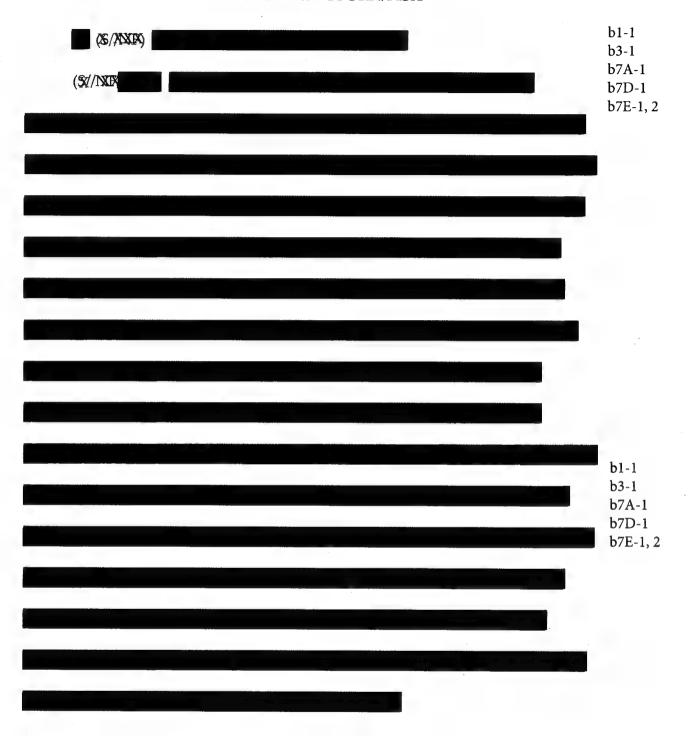


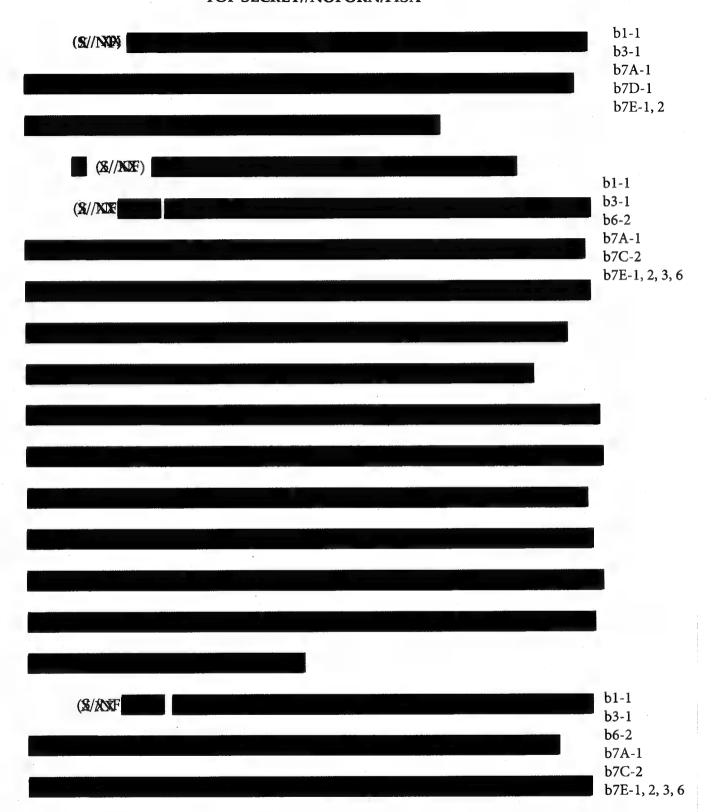


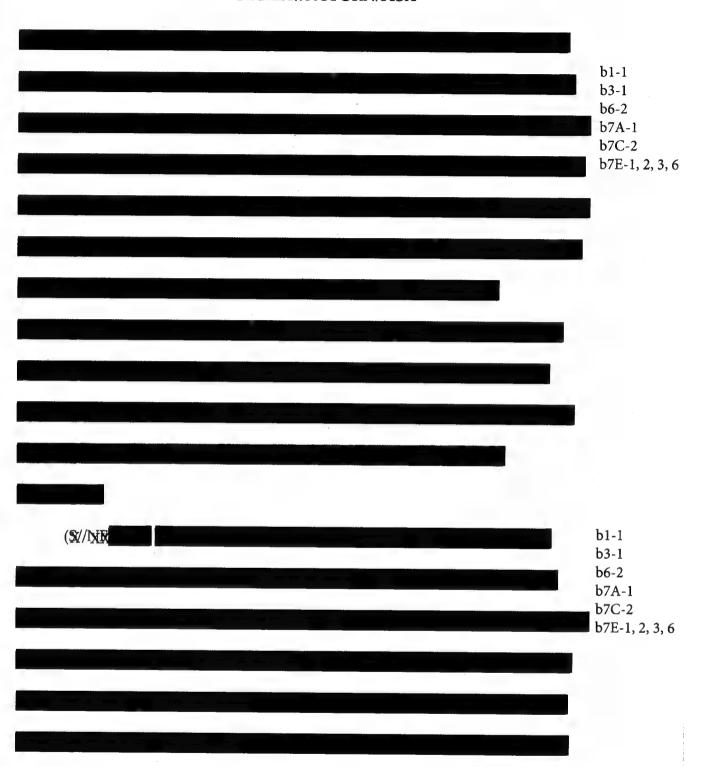


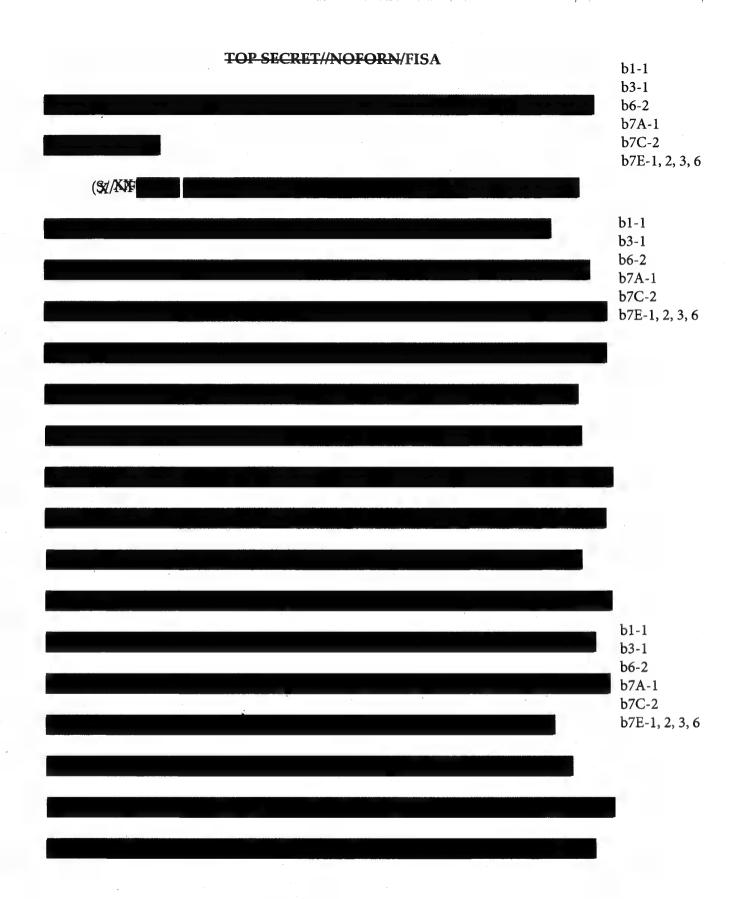


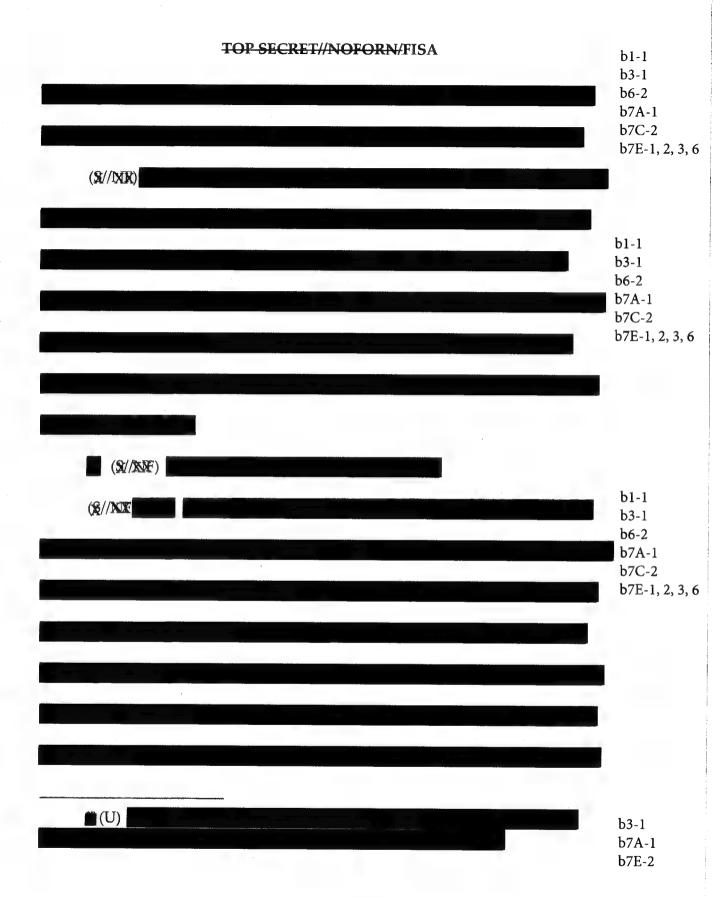


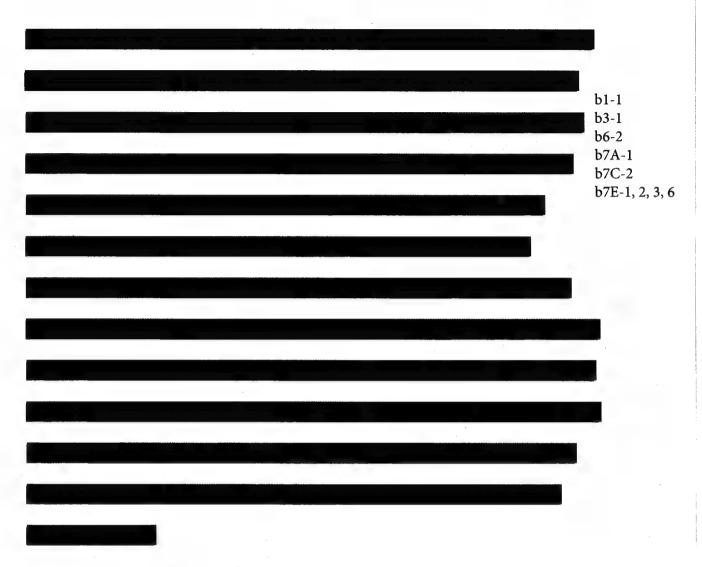








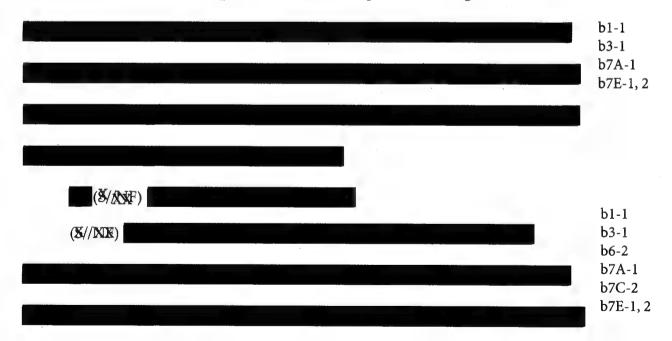


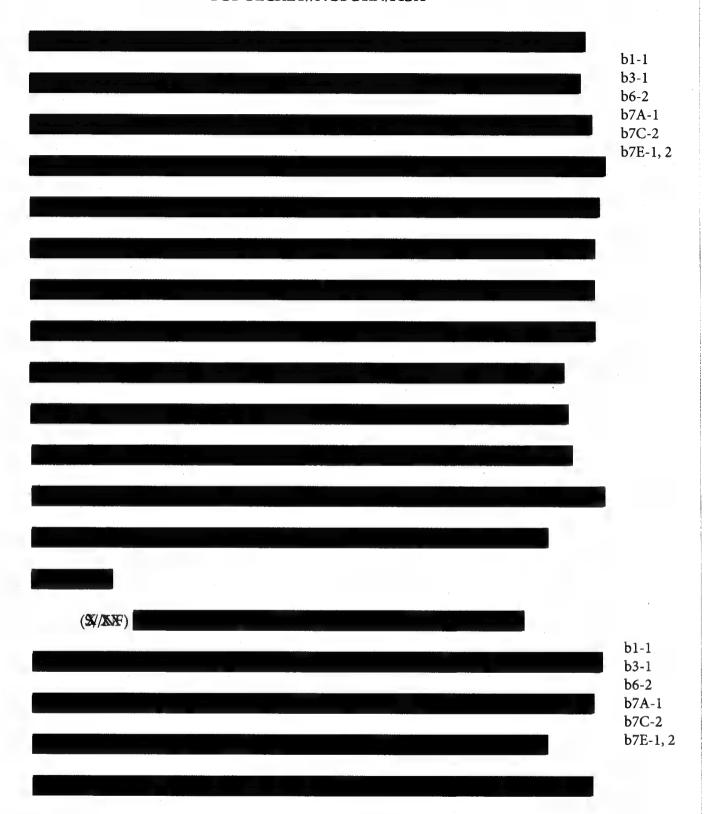


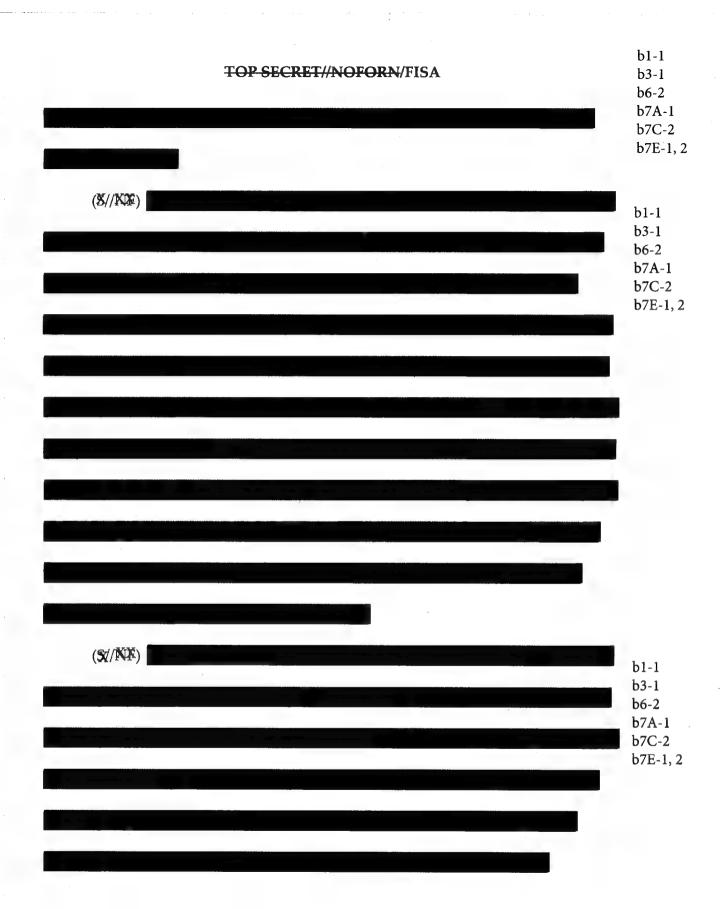
(U) G. (\$/\mathbb{X}F) Page's Letter to the U.S. Department of Justice.

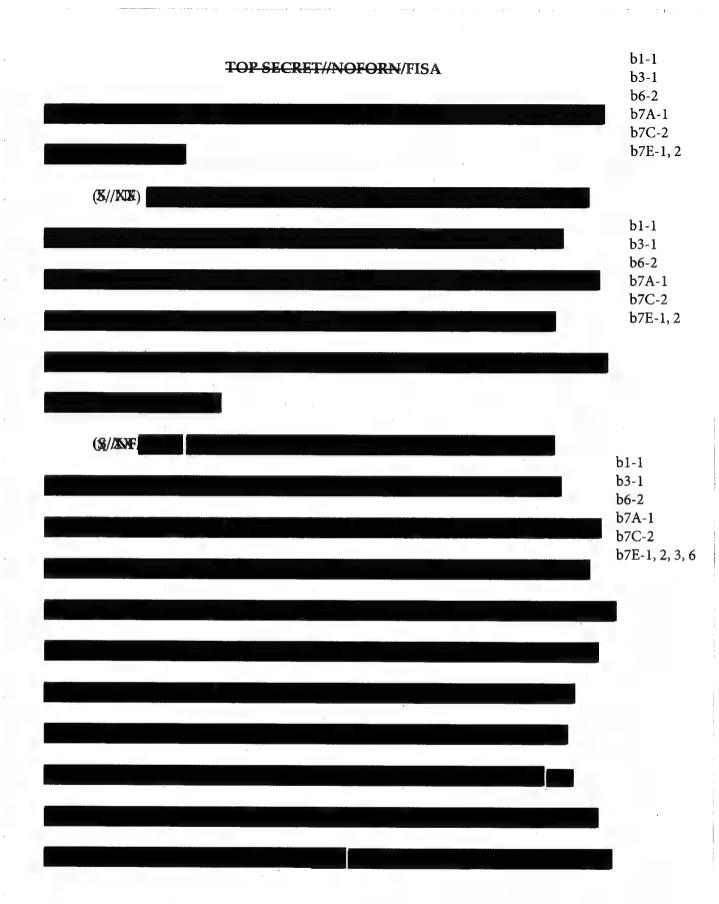
(\$//NXF) In or around February 2017, Page sent a letter to the U.S. Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division, Voting Section, urging the review of what Page claimed was "severe election fraud in the form of disinformation, suppression of dissent, hate crimes and other extensive abuses led by members of [Candidate #2's] campaign and their political allies last year." In his letter, Page claims that he has

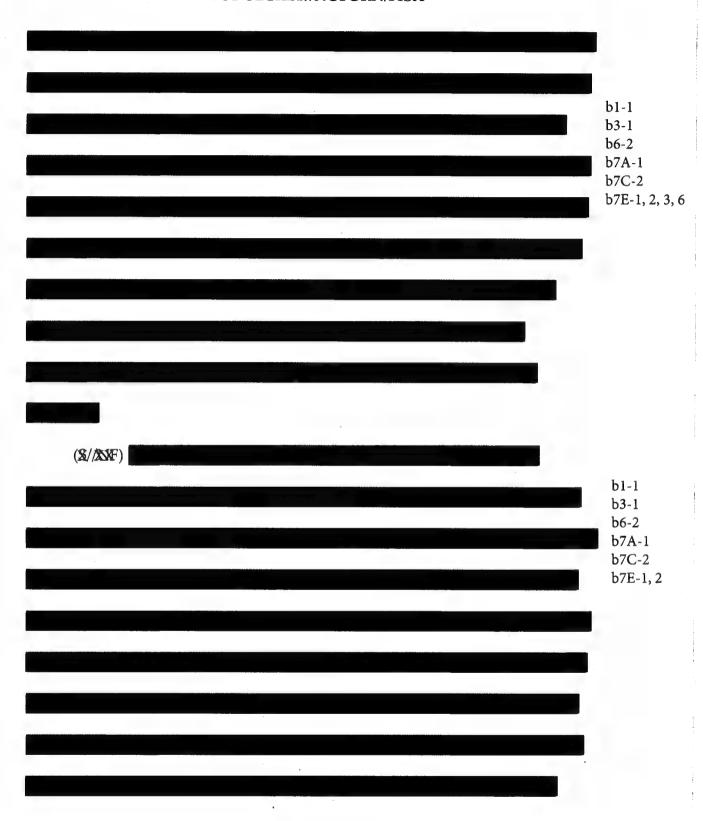
not directly supported a political campaign since September 2016, but continues to be subjected to personal attacks by former members of Candidate #2's campaign based on fictitious information. Page wrote that his academic lecture and related meetings with scholars and business people in Moscow had no connection to the U.S. election. Page attributes the assertions in the September 23rd News Article that Page met with two senior Russian officials (i.e., Sechin and Diveykin) while he was in Moscow in July 2016 to give the commencement address at the New Economic School, which Page claims is "false evidence," to Candidate #2's campaign. Page further claims that the information relied on by Candidate #2's campaign, certain members of the U.S. Congress, and the media are lies that were completely fabricated by Candidate #2's paid consultants and private investigators.

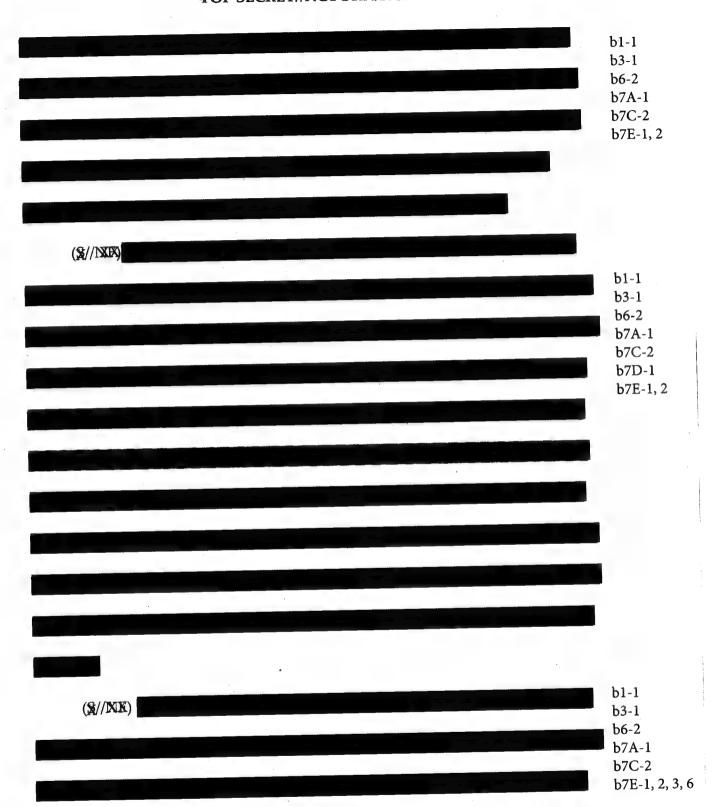


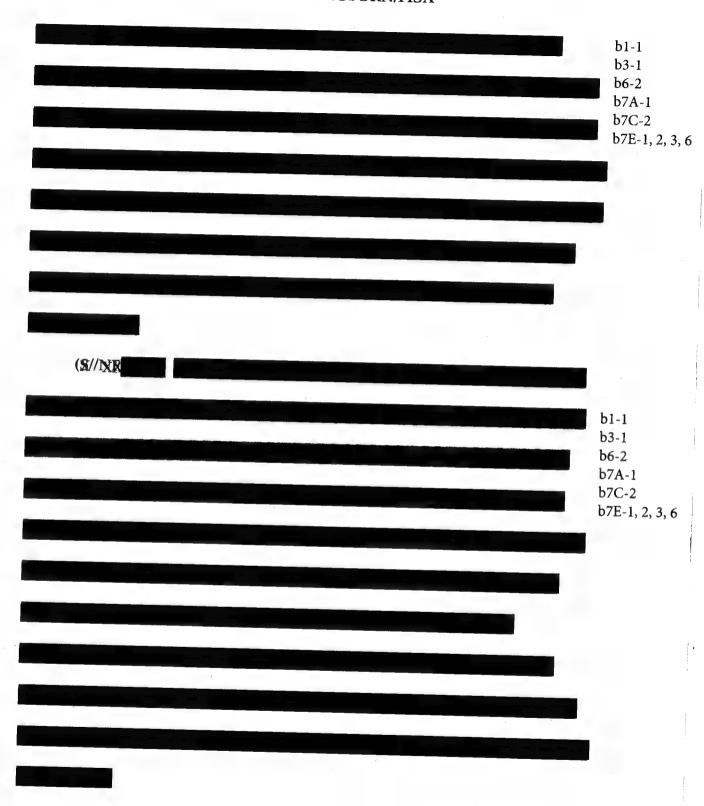


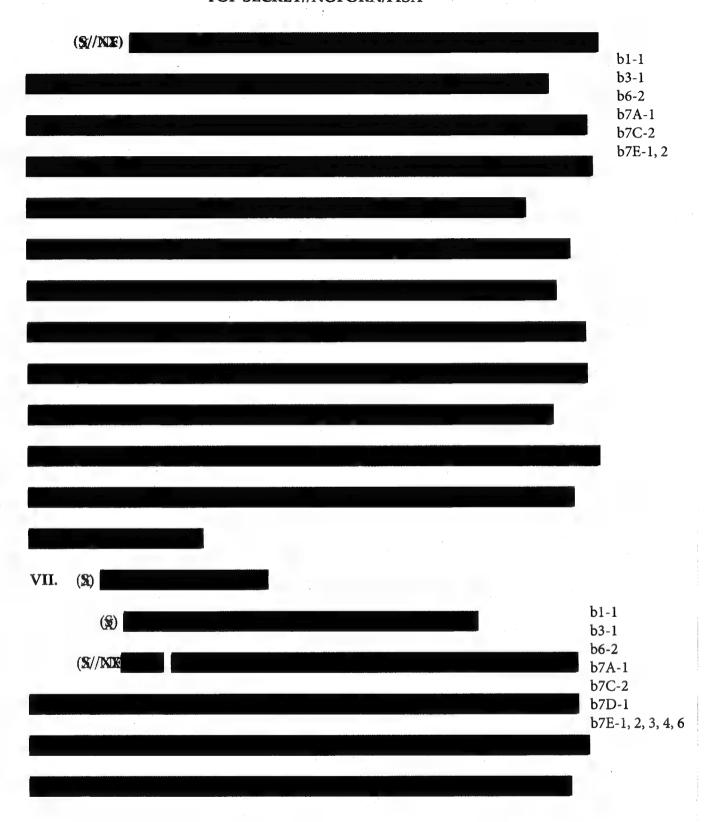


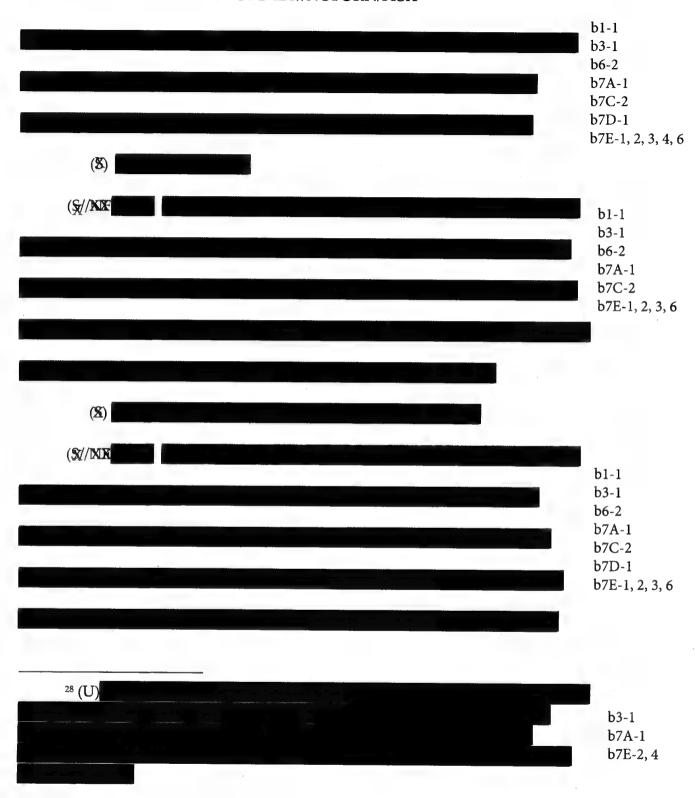


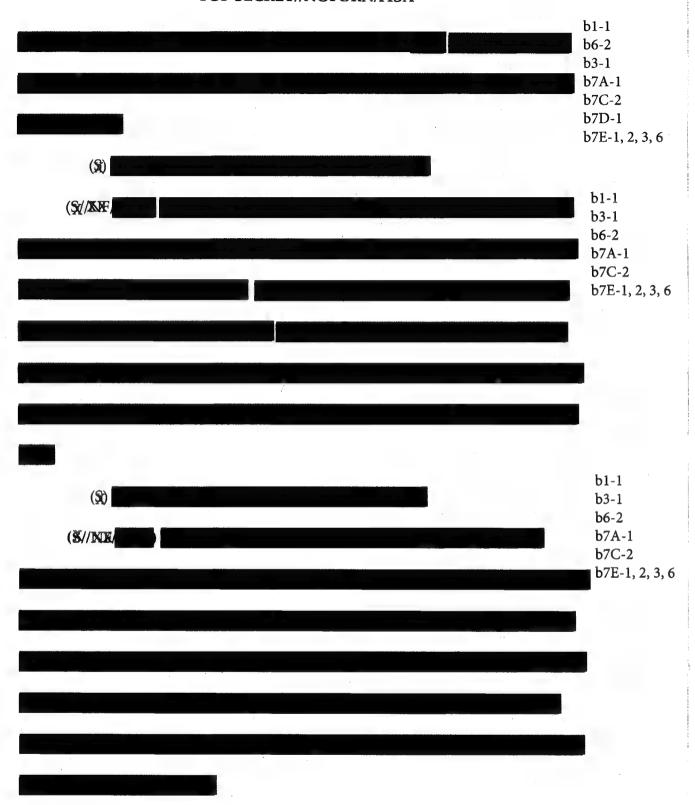


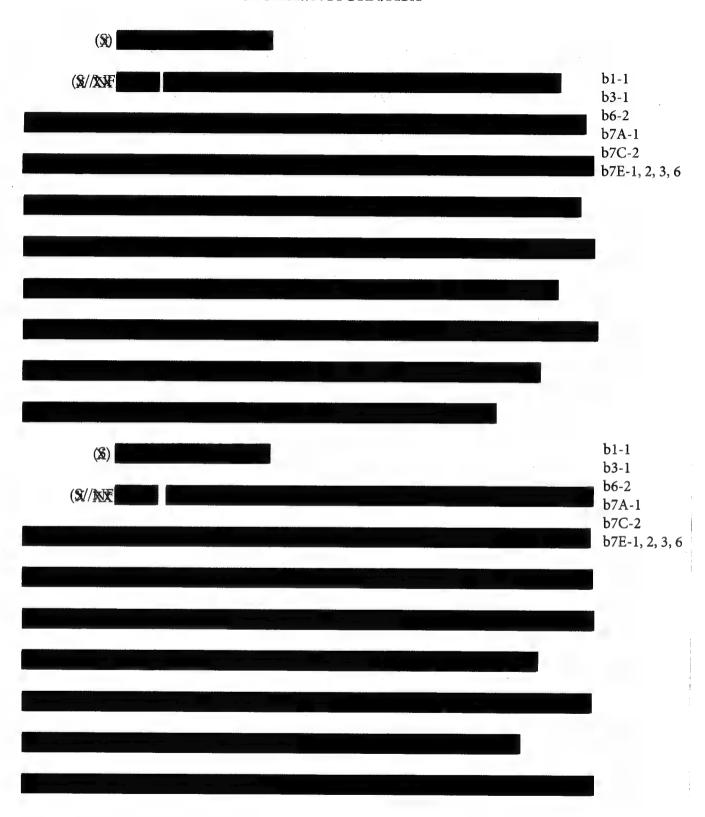


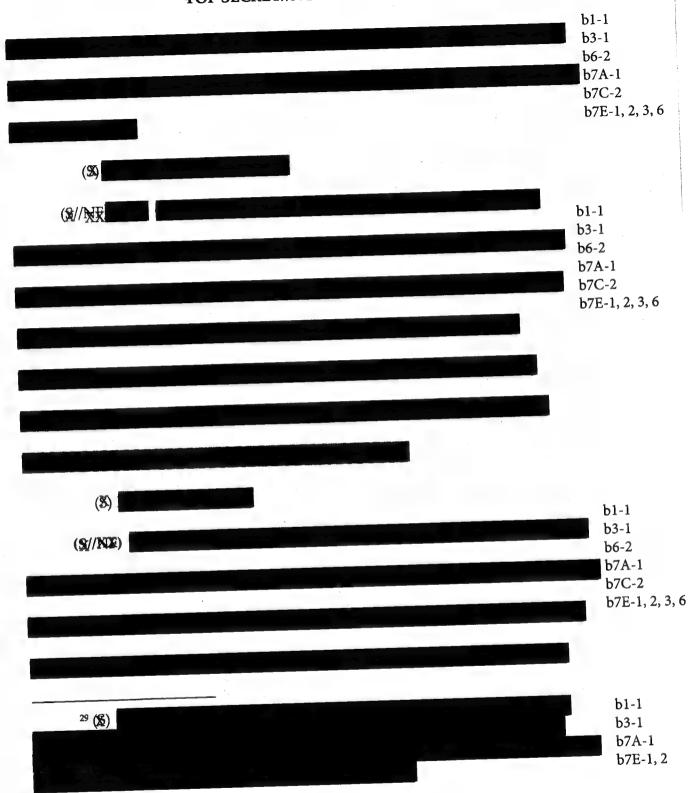




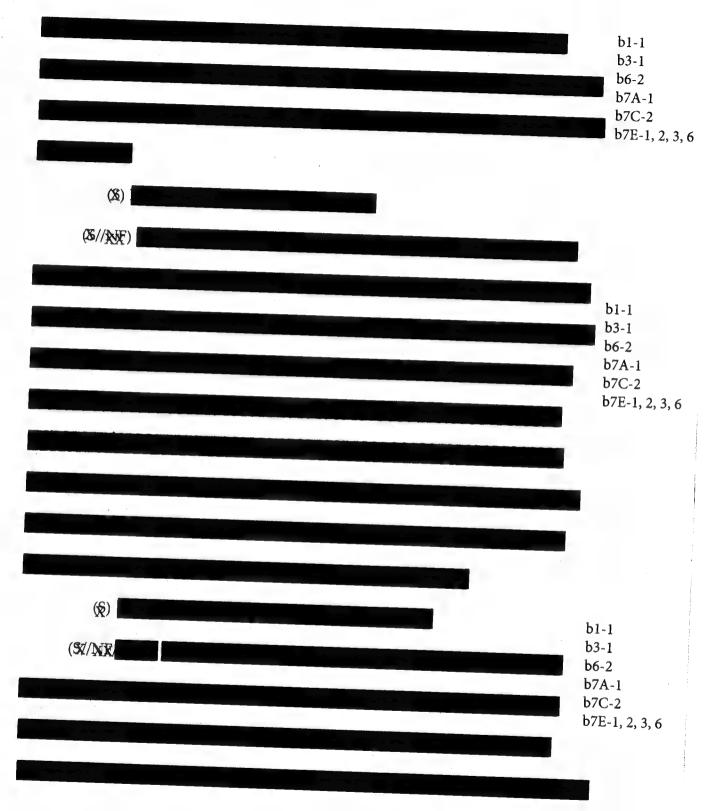


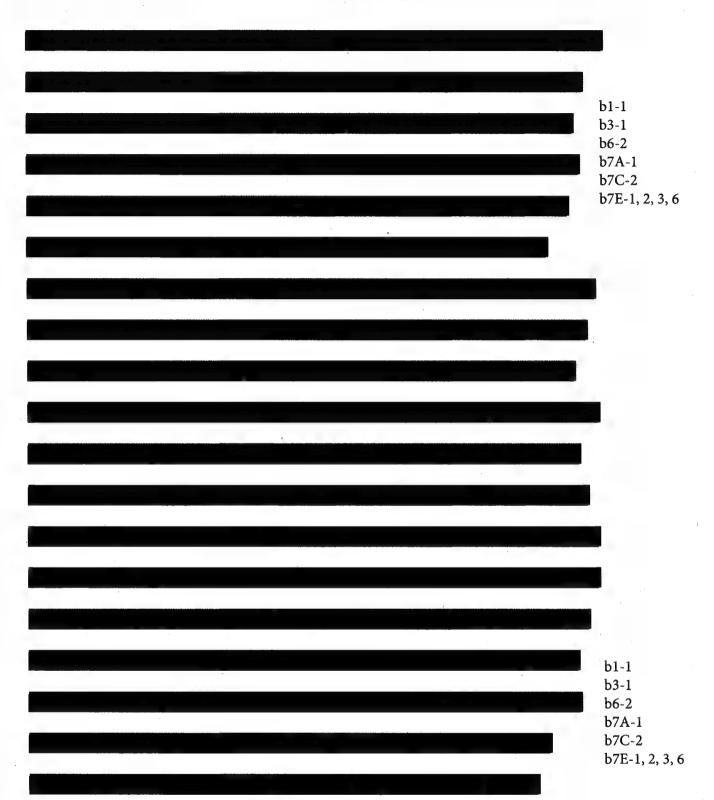


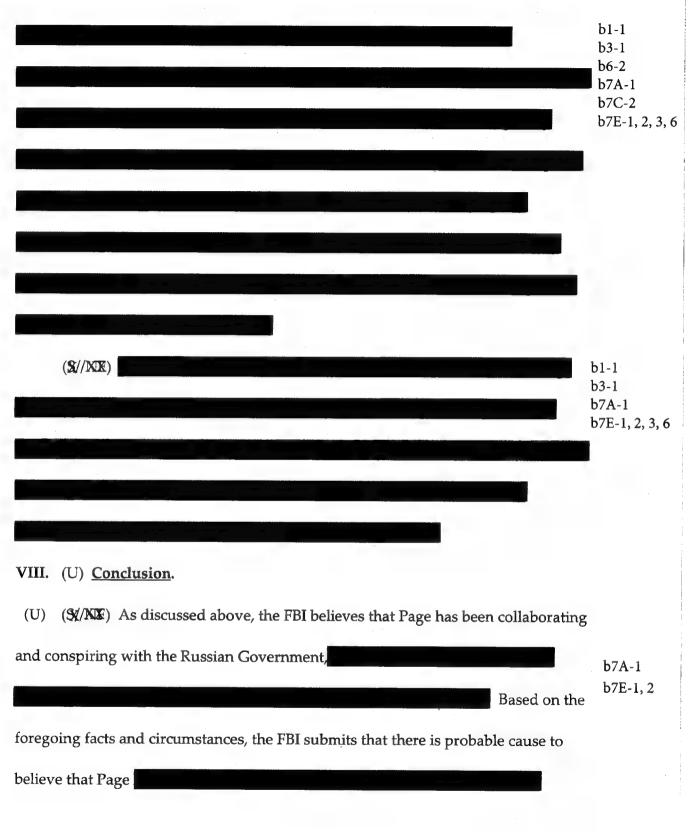




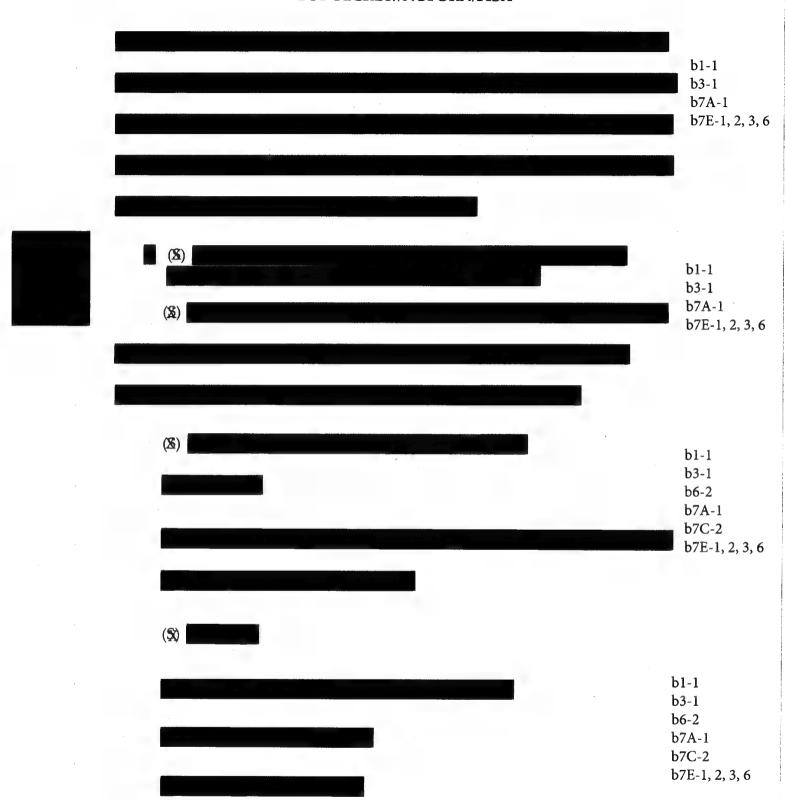
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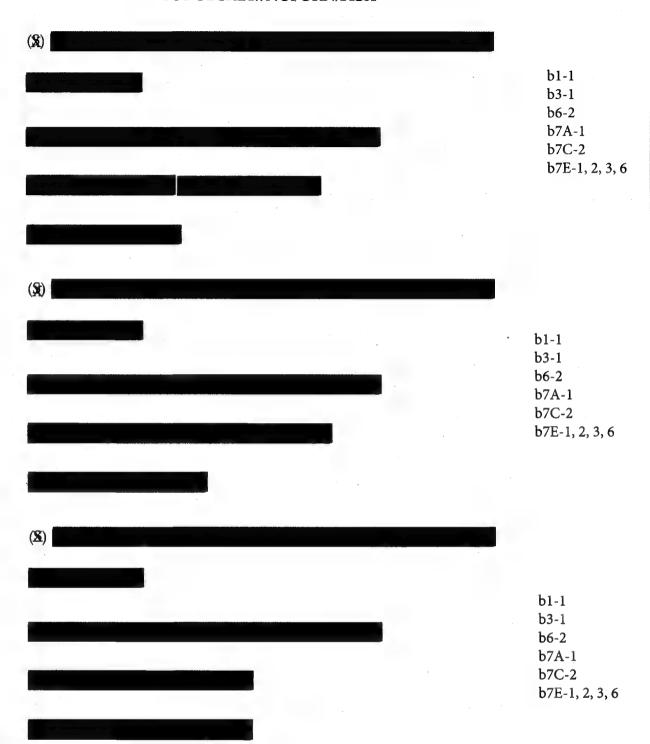


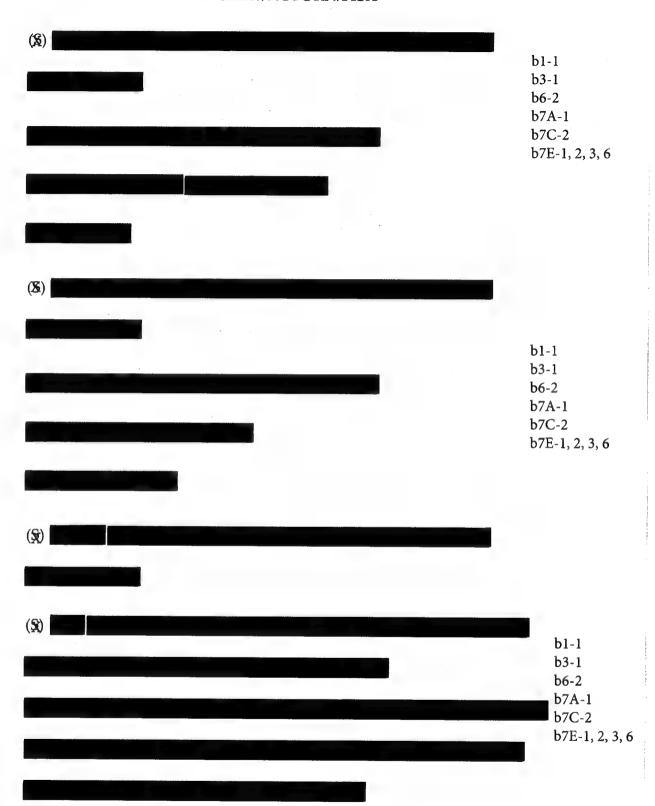


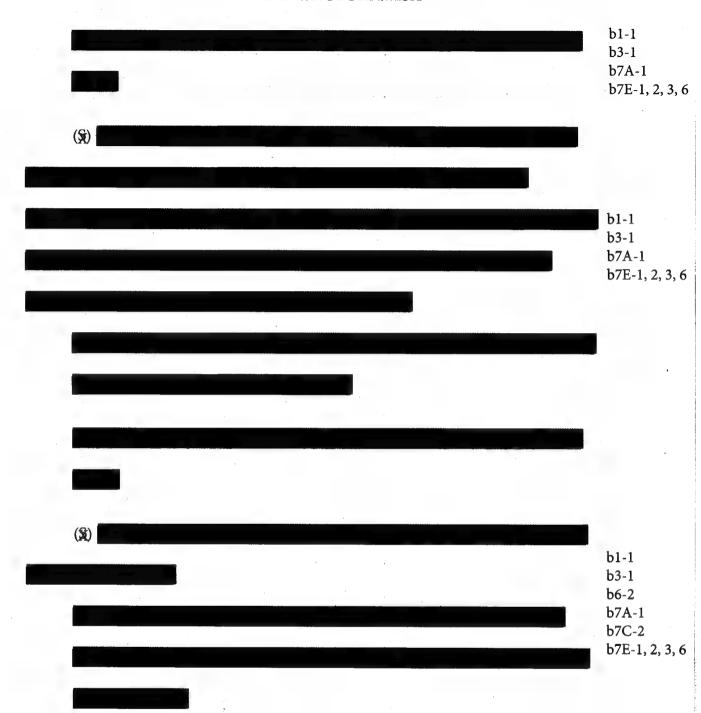


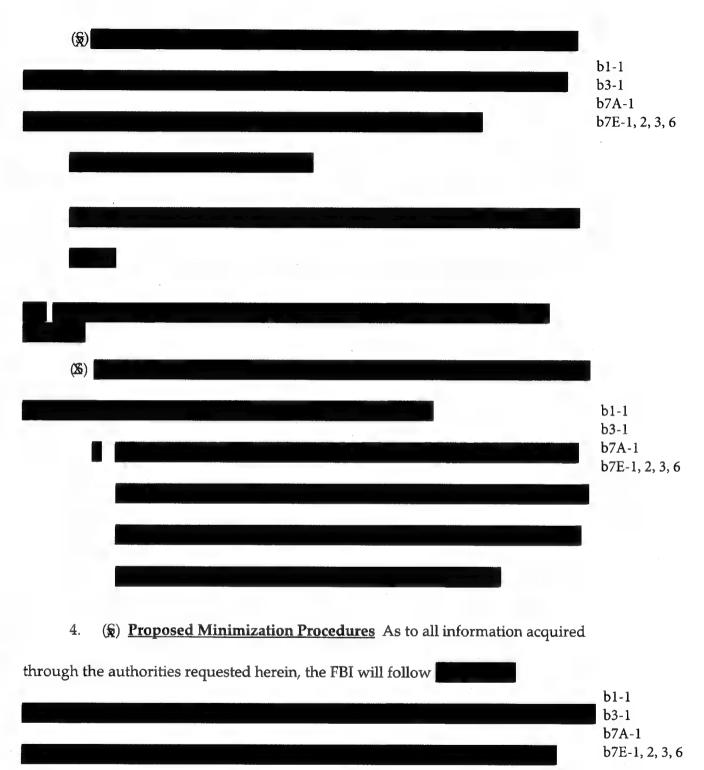
knowingly engage in b7A-1 b7E-1, 2 clandestine intelligence activities (other than intelligence gathering activities) for or on behalf of such foreign power, or knowingly conspires with other persons to engage in such activities and, therefore, is an agent of a foreign power as defined by 50 U.S.C. § 1801(b)(2)(E). b7A-1 the FBI submits that there is probable cause to believe that b7E-1, 2 such activities involve or are about to involve violations of the criminal statutes of the United States, b7A-1 b7E-1, 2 b1-1 b3-1 b6-2 b7A-1 b7C-2 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

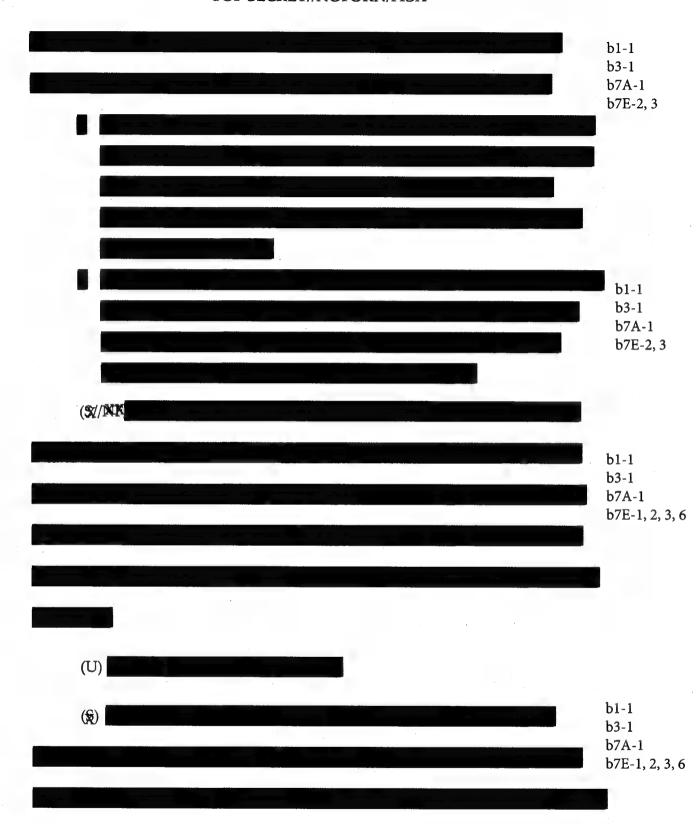


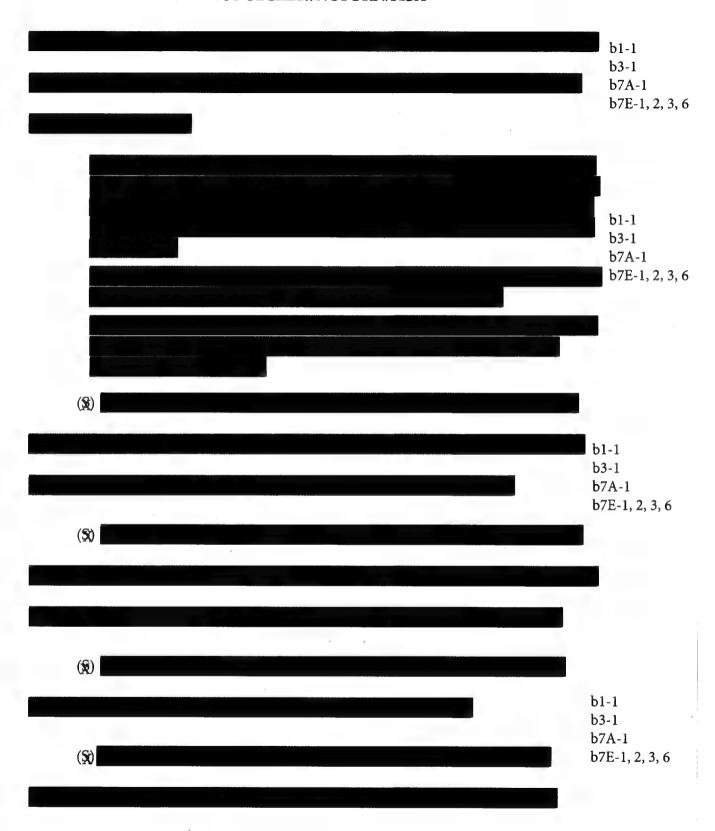












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5. (S) Nature of the Information Sought Through the authorities

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b3-1
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b7A-1
b7E-1, 23, 6

respect to the activities of the target described above and detailed further in the

certification set forth below. As indicated by the facts set forth herein, the FBI is

seeking foreign intelligence information that relates and is necessary to the ability of

the United States to protect against clandestine intelligence activities by an

intelligence service or network of this foreign power or by agents of this foreign

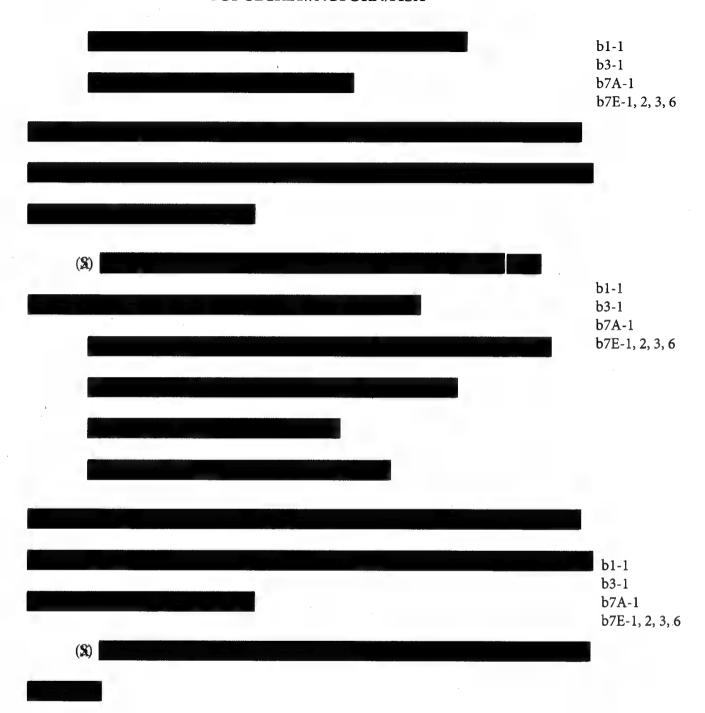
power, and information with respect to ■ foreign power or foreign territory that

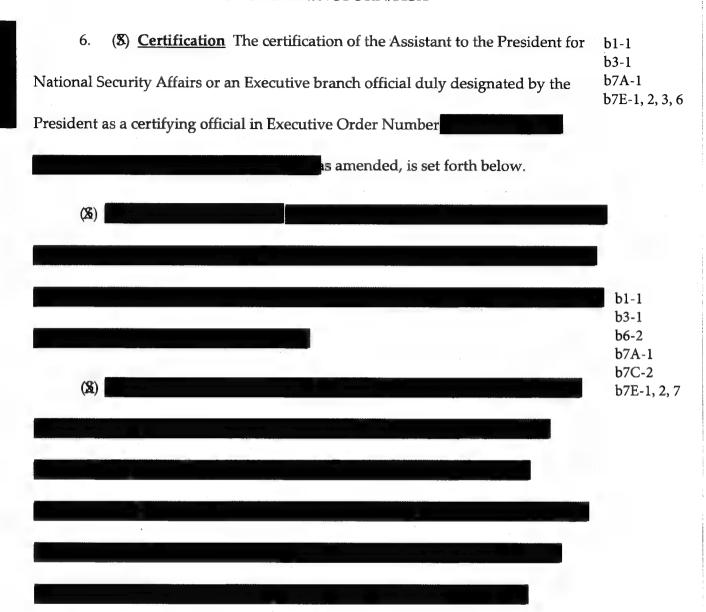
relates and is necessary to the national defense, security, and the conduct of the

foreign affairs of the United States. These same authorities may also incidentally

acquire other foreign intelligence information, as defined by the Act.

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b7A-1
b7E-1, 2, 3, 6





(U) The Purpose of the Authorities Requested

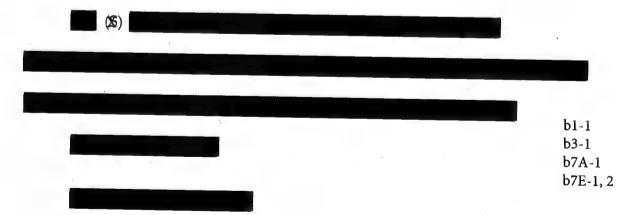
(3) The FBI's foreign intelligence goals for this investigation are set forth in the certification of the Executive Branch official contained herein. However, the authorities requested in this application may produce information and material which might, when evaluated by prosecutive authorities, constitute evidence of a

violation of United States law, and this investigation may result in an eventual criminal prosecution of the target. Nevertheless, as discussed in the certification, at b1-1 b3-1 least a significant purpose of this request for b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 is to collect foreign intelligence information as part of the FBI's investigation of this target. b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

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b3-1
b7A-1
b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

(S) <u>Duration of the Authorities Requested</u> (See also,

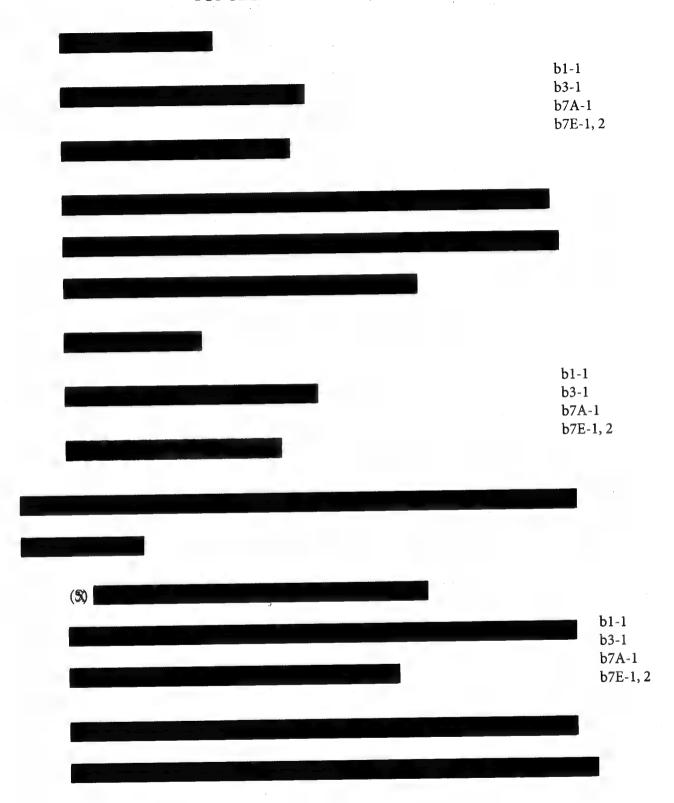
The authorities requested should not automatically terminate when foreign intelligence information has first been obtained. Additional information of the same b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 type will be obtained on a continuous basis throughout the entire period requested. The activities which the United States must identify and monitor are incremental and continuous, and communications relating to such activities are often disguised to appear innocuous. The type of foreign intelligence information being sought and the fact that the activities of this target are ongoing preclude the conclusion that, at a given time, all such information has been obtained and collection can be ended. Accordingly, the United States requests the authorities specified herein for a period of ninety (90) days.

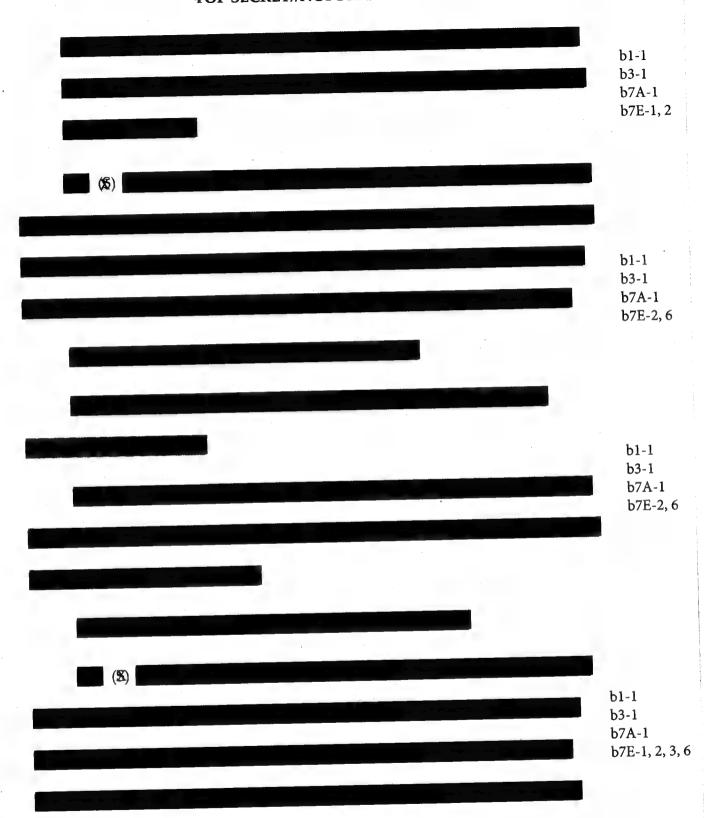


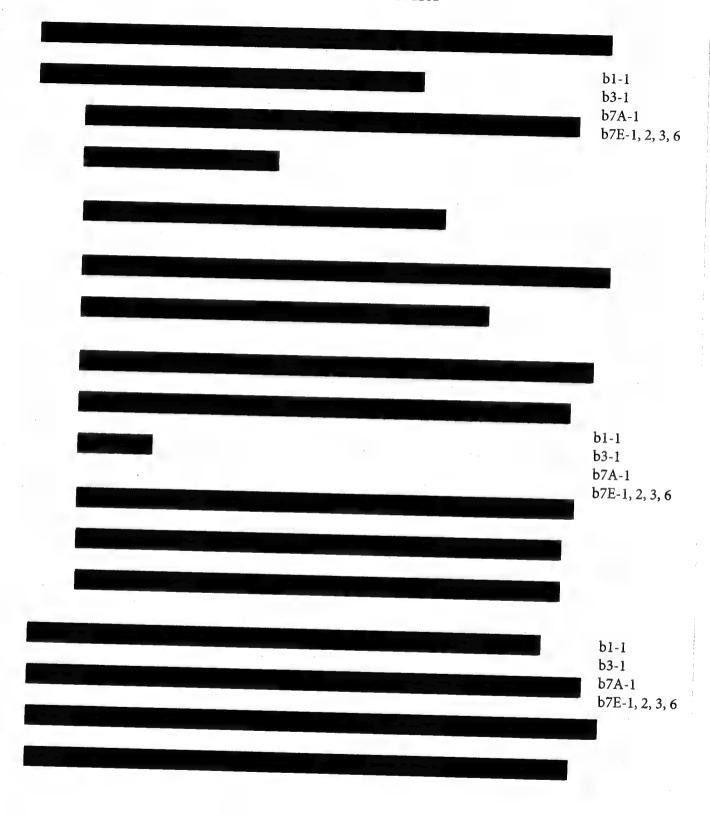
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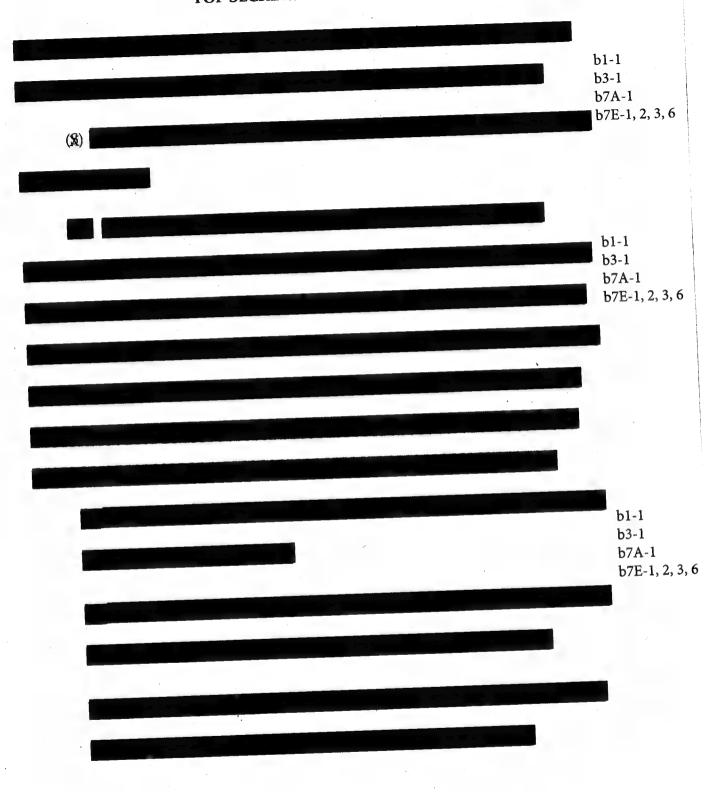
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b3-1 b7A-1

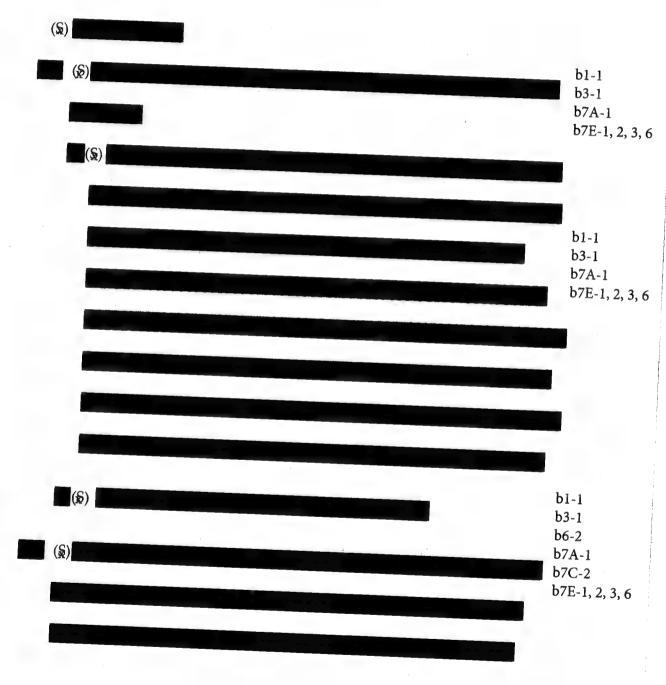


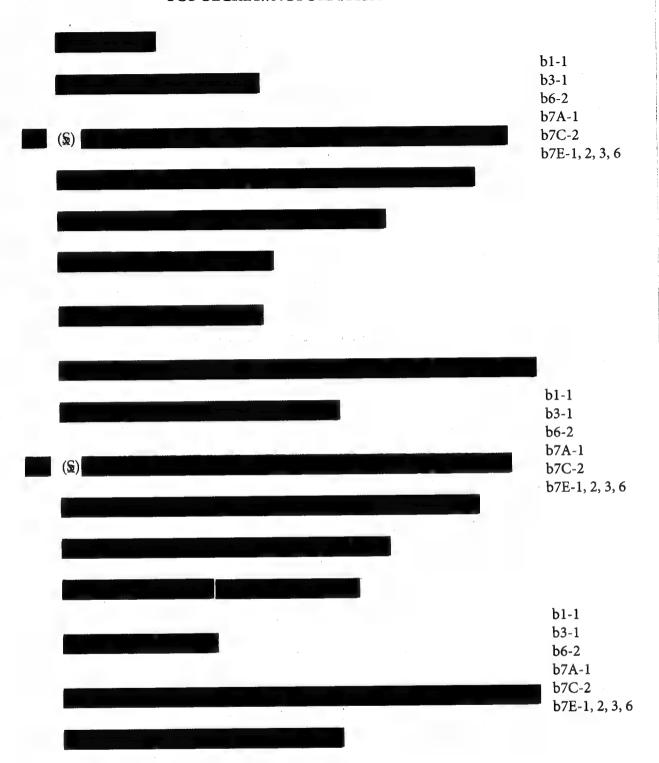


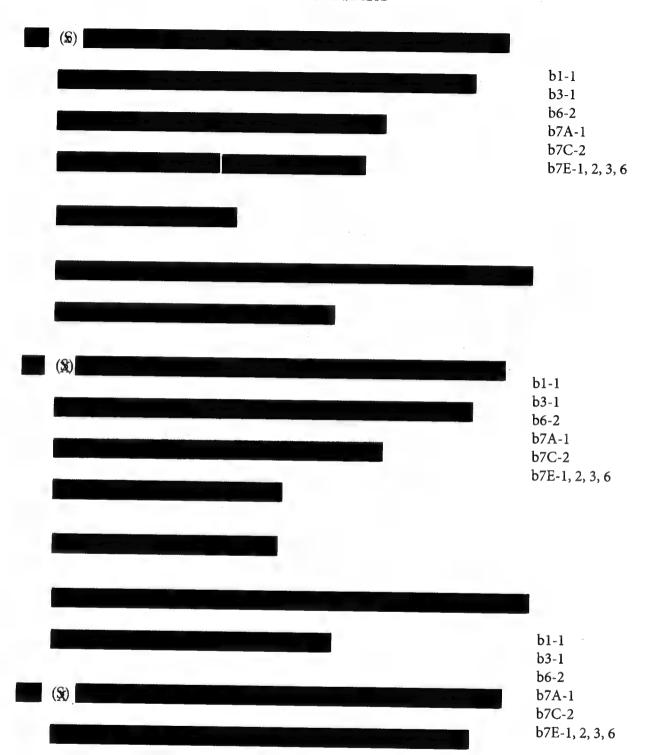




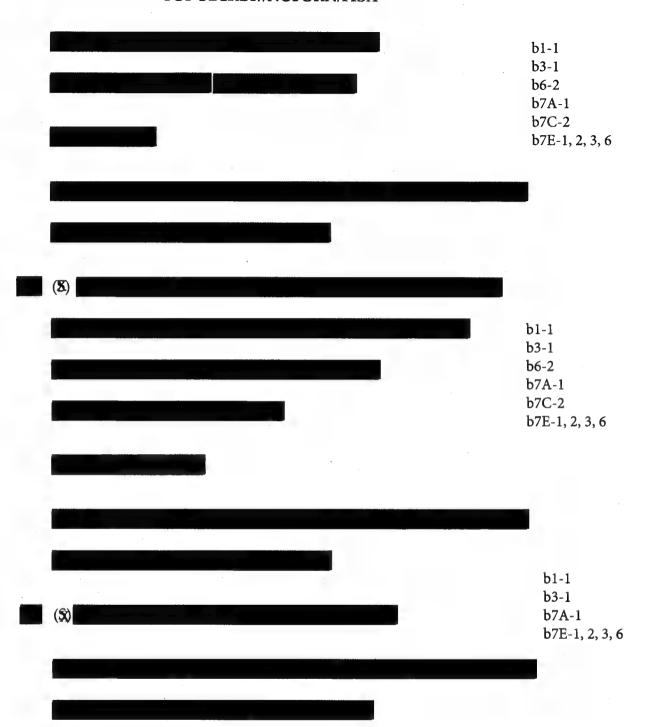
(U) Specific Authorities Requested Based upon the foregoing information, the United States requests that this Court authorize the FBI to conduct the activities described immediately below for the period requested herein.

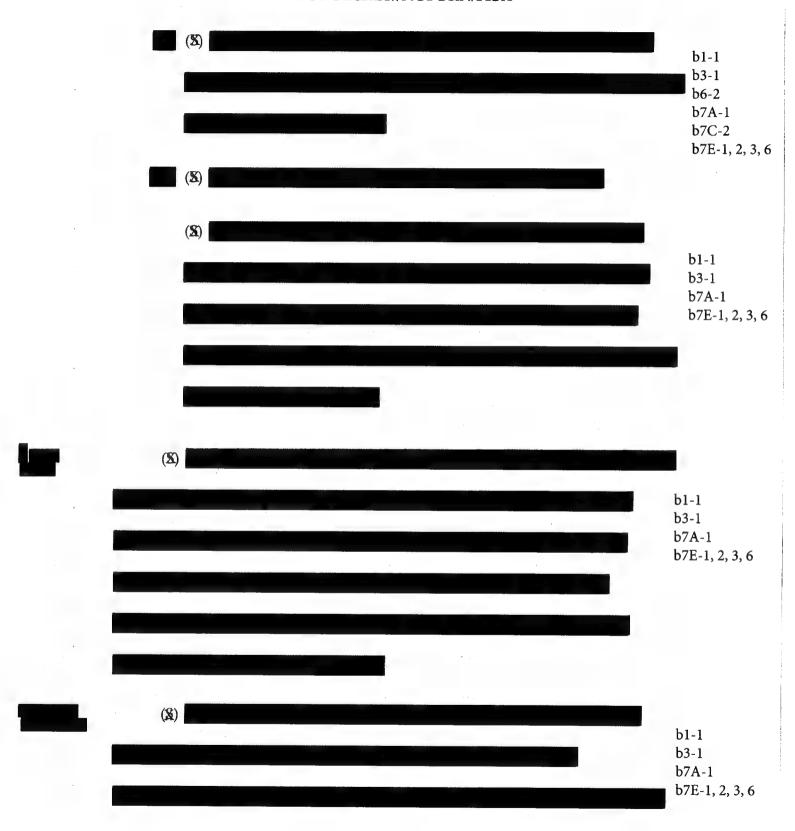


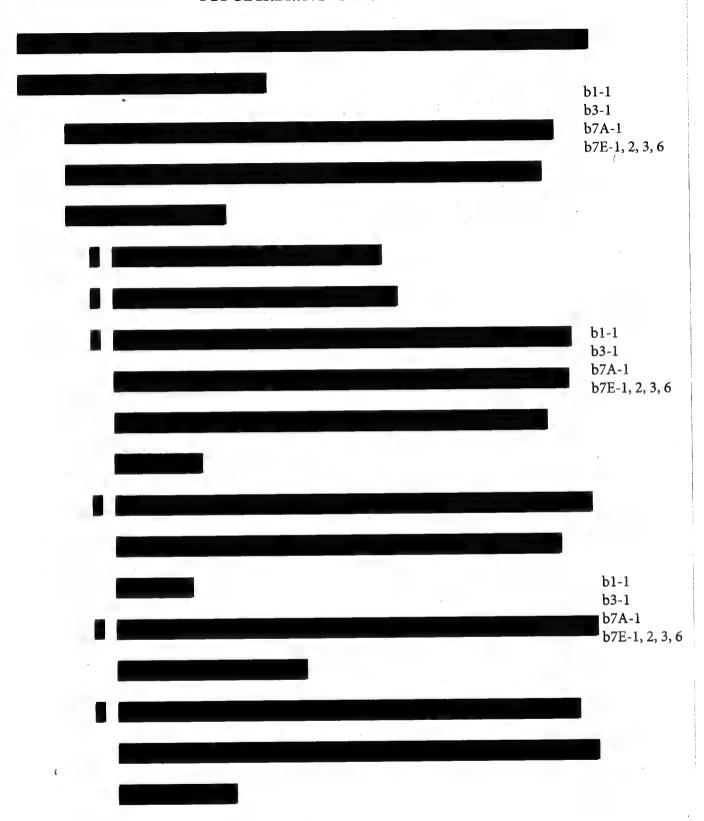


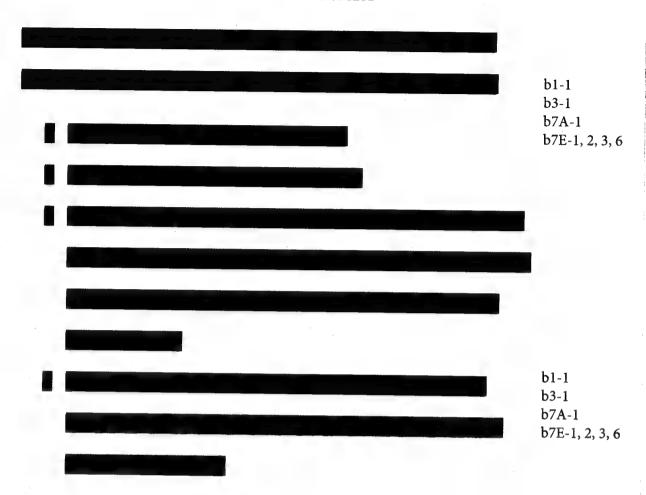


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(U) (S) The FBI has reviewed this verified application for accuracy in accordance with its April 5, 2001 procedures, which include sending a copy of the draft to the appropriate field office(s). A copy of those procedures was previously provided to the Court.

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(U) VERIFICATION

(\$) I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing information

regarding Carter W. Page is true and correct. Executed pursuant to Title 28, United

States Code, § 1746 on _06

b1-1 b3-1

b7A-1

b6-1

b7A-1

b7C-1

Supervisory Special Agent Federal Bureau of Investigation

(U) CERTIFICATION

(3) I, the undersigned, having been designated as one of the officials authorized to make the certifications required by the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, do hereby certify with regard to the

requested in this verified application targeting

b1-1

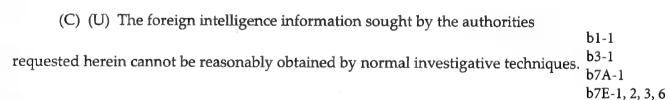
Carter W. Page, an agent of the Government of Russia, a foreign power, as follows: b3-1

b7A-1

(A) (U) The information sought through the authorities requested herein is foreign intelligence information.



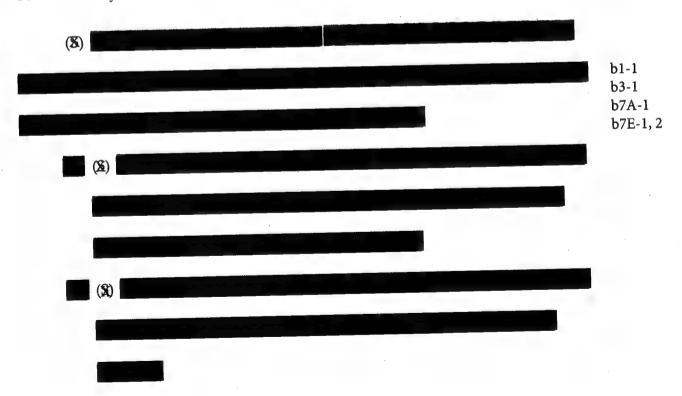
(B) (U) At least a significant purpose of the authorities requested herein is to obtain foreign intelligence information and, notwithstanding the related criminal matters described in this application, the primary purpose of the authorities requested herein is **not** to obtain information for the prosecution of crimes other than those referred to in the Act, 50 U.S.C. § 1801(a)-(e), or related to such foreign intelligence crimes.

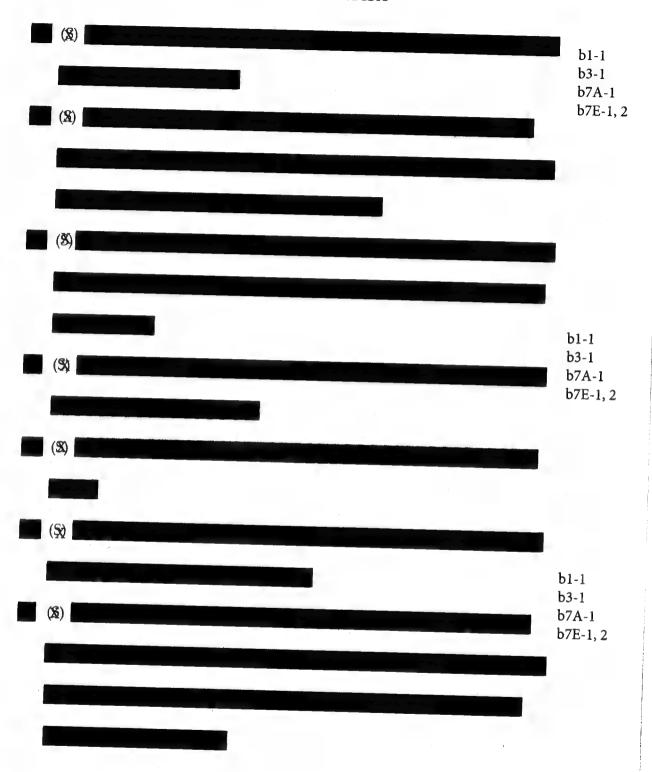


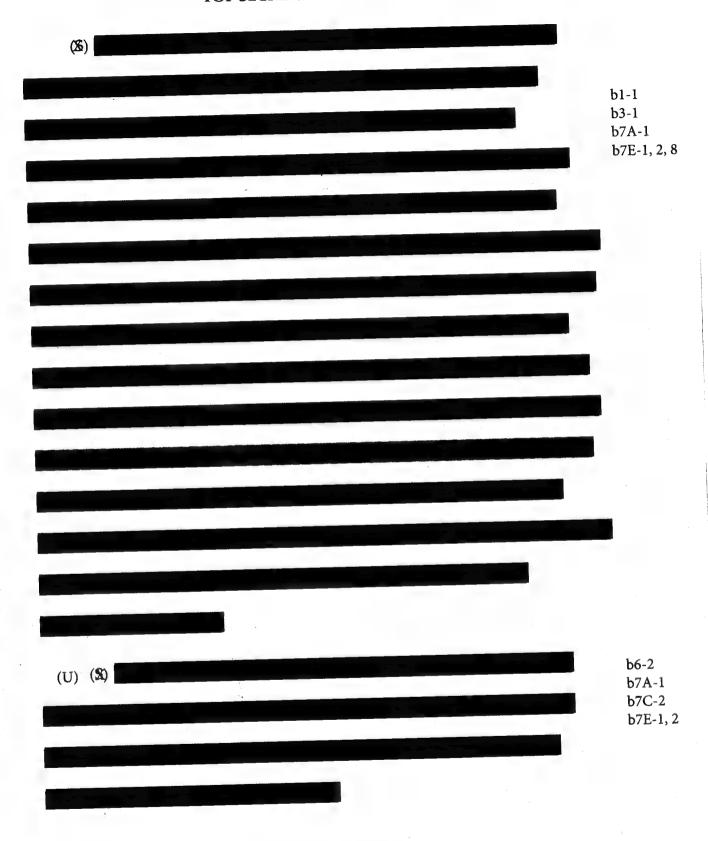
(D) (S) The type of foreign intelligence information being sought through the authorities requested herein is that described in 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e)(1)(C), i.e.,

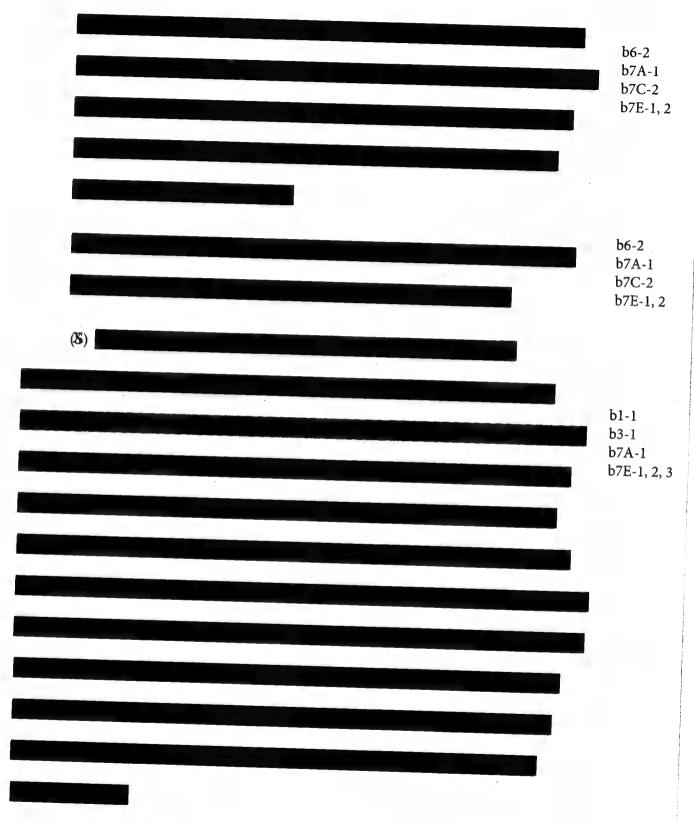
information that relates and is necessary to the ability of the United States to protect against clandestine intelligence activities by an intelligence service or network of this foreign power or by agents of this foreign power, and 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e)(2)(A)-(B), i.e., information with respect to a foreign power or foreign territory that relates and is necessary to the national defense or security, and the conduct of the foreign affairs of the United States. These same authorities may also incidentally acquire foreign intelligence information as defined by other subsections of 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e).

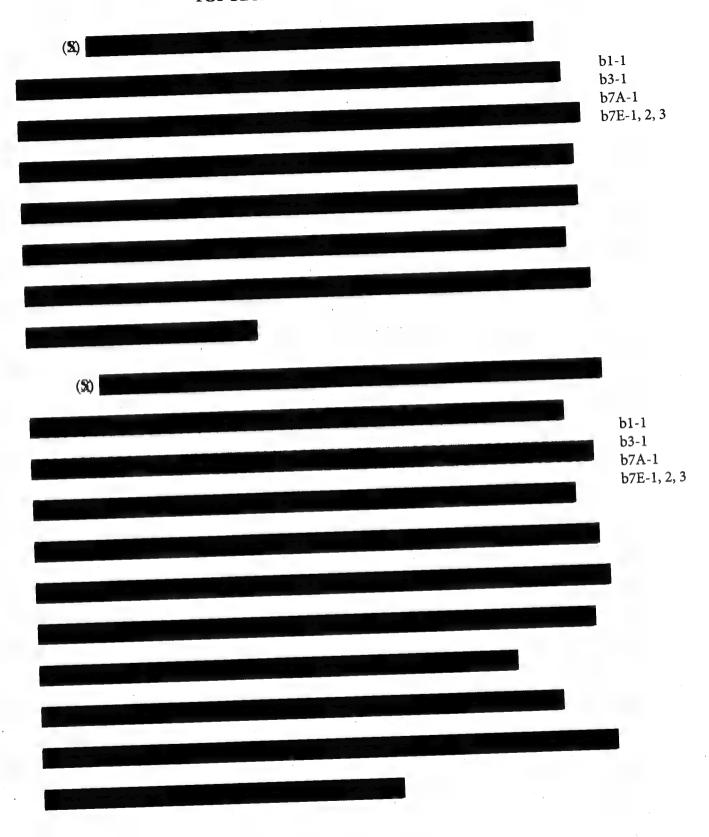
(E) (S) The basis for my certification that the information sought is the type b3-1 b7A-1 of foreign intelligence information specified herein and that such information cannot b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 be obtained by normal investigative techniques is as follows.

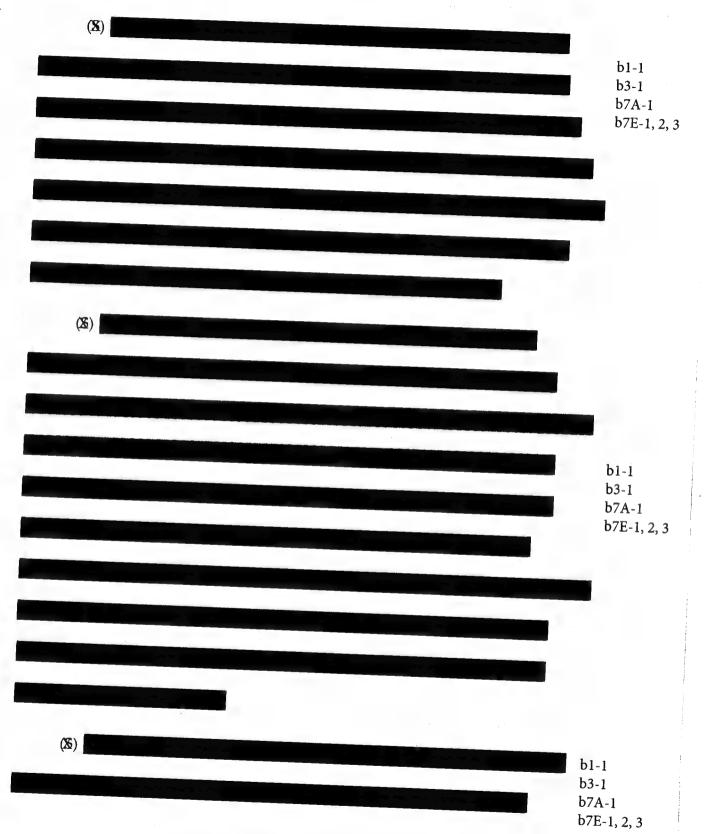


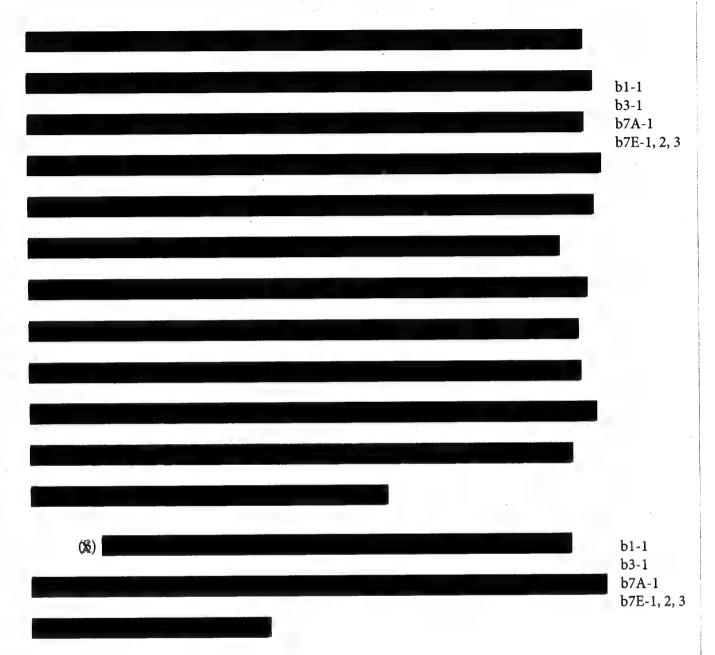












(U) (3) Based upon the foregoing information, it is the Government's belief that the authorities requested herein targeting Page are critical investigative means for obtaining the foreign intelligence information identified herein.

(X) Accordingly, I execute this certification regarding Carter W. Page in accordance with the requirements of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended.

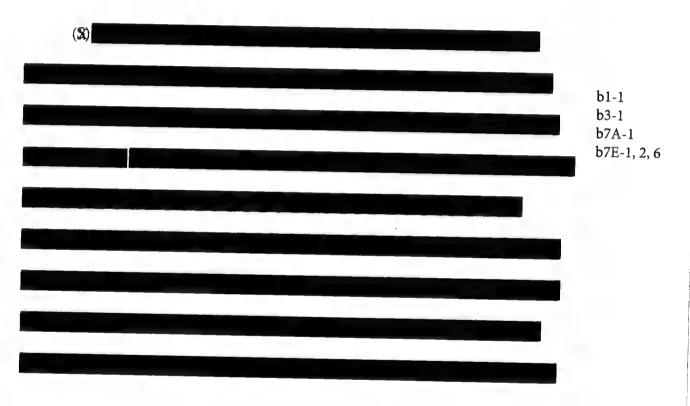
	Rex Tillerson
Director	Secretary of State
Federal Bureau of Investigation	
111, 1/1	
Andrew G. McCabe	John J. Sullivan
Deputy Director	Deputy Secretary of State
Federal Bureau of Investigation	
-	
Federal Burcau of Investigation	James N. Mattis
-	James N. Mattis Secretary of Defense
Federal Burcau of Investigation Michael Pompeo	-
Federal Burcau of Investigation Michael Pompeo Director of the Central	-
Federal Burcau of Investigation Michael Pompeo Director of the Central Intelligence Agency	-
Federal Burcau of Investigation Michael Pompeo Director of the Central	Secretary of Defense

Principal Deputy Director of National Intelligence

06, 2117 Date b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1

(U) APPROVAL

(U) (S) I find that this application regarding Carter W. Page satisfies the criteria and requirements for such applications set forth in the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, and hereby approve its filing with this Court.



(\$) Accordingly, I approve the filing of this application regarding Carter

W. Page with the Court,

b1-1 b3-1

b7A-1 b7E-1

Rod J. Rosenstein

Deputy Attorney General of the United States

TOPSECRETATION OF TORNYFISA

WHEREFORE, the United States submits that this application regarding Carter W. Page satisfies the criteria and requirements of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, and therefore requests that this Court authorize the activities described herein, and enter the proposed orders and warrants which accompany this application.

Respectfully submitted,



Filed United States Fereign Intelligence Surveillance Court

All Information is considered

UNITED STATES

unclassified except where

otherwise shown

LeeAnn Flynn Hall, Clerk of Court FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SURVEILLANCE COURT b1-1

Classify By: J23J98T32 Reason: (C)

WASHINGTON, D. C.

b3-1

Derived From: FBI NSICG, dated

b7A-1

-2017 Declassify On:

IN RE CARTER W. PAGE, A U.S.

Docket Number:

b1-1

PERSON

b3-1 b7A-1

PRIMARY ORDER AND WARRANT

1. An application having been made by the United States of America pursuant to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, 50 FISA or the Act), for an order and warrant U.S.C. §§ and full (hereinafter "order") for consideration having been given to the matters set forth therein, the Court finds b1-1 b3-1 as follows: b7A-1



2. The application has been made by a Federal officer and approved by the

b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

Attorney General;



3. On the basis of the facts submitted in the verified application, there is probable cause to believe that:

SECRET

Derived from:

Application to the USFISC

b1-1

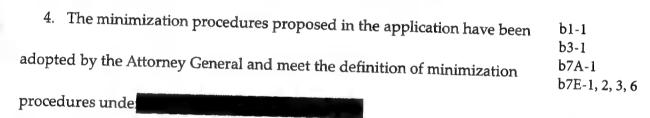
in Docket Number captioned above

b3-1 b7A-1

Declassify on:

17-cv-597(FBI)-393

(A) The Government of the Russian Federation (Russia) is a foreign power and Carter W. Page is an agent of Russia, as defined by b7A-1 b7E-1, 2



5. The application contains all statements and certifications required by

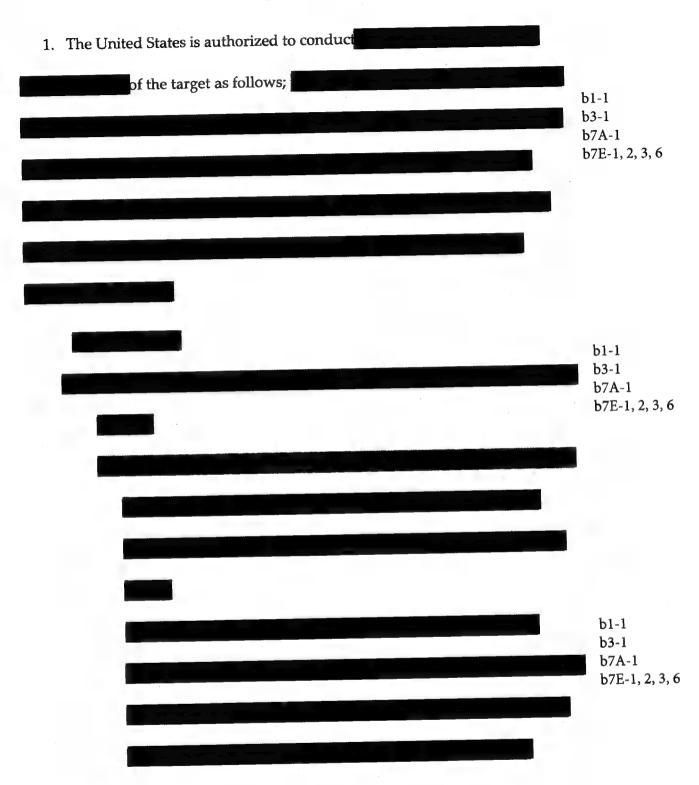
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b7A-1
b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

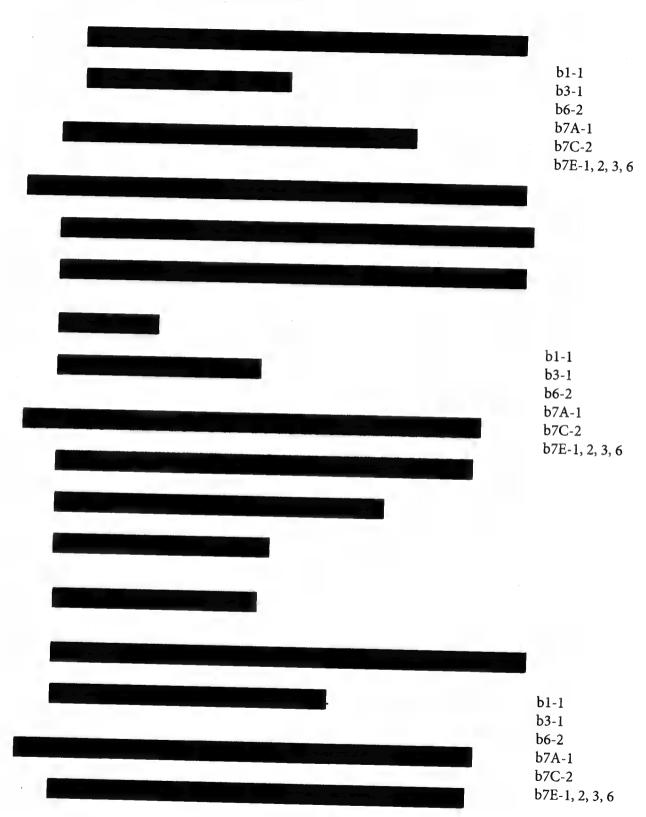
any other information furnished unde

WHEREFORE, IT IS HEREBY ORDERED, pursuant to the authority conferred on this Court by the Act, that the application of the United States is GRANTED, and it is

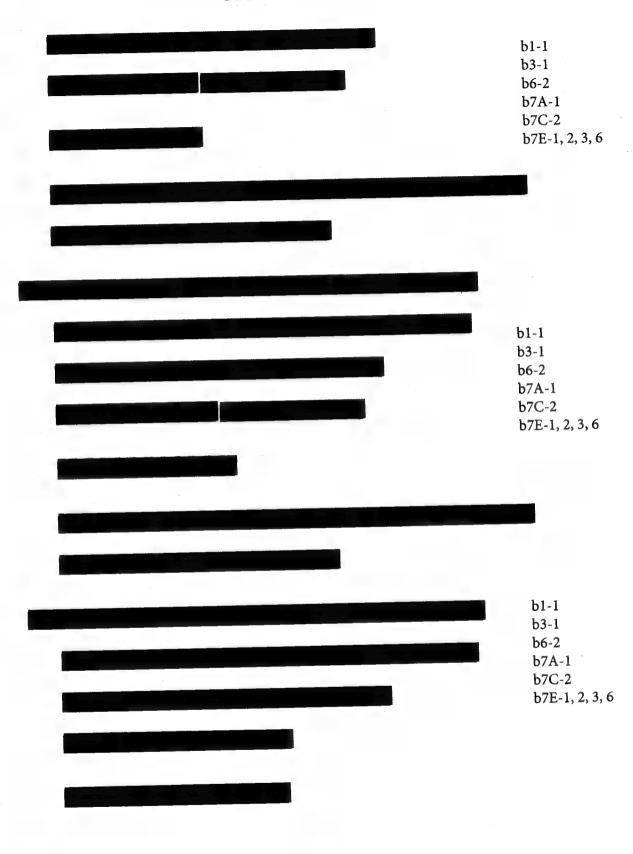
FURTHER ORDERED, as follows:

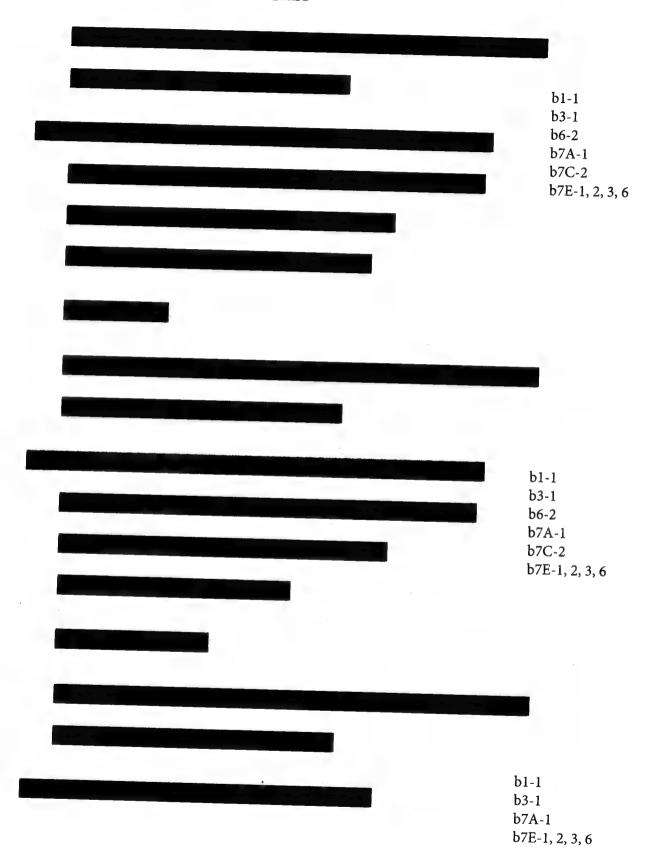
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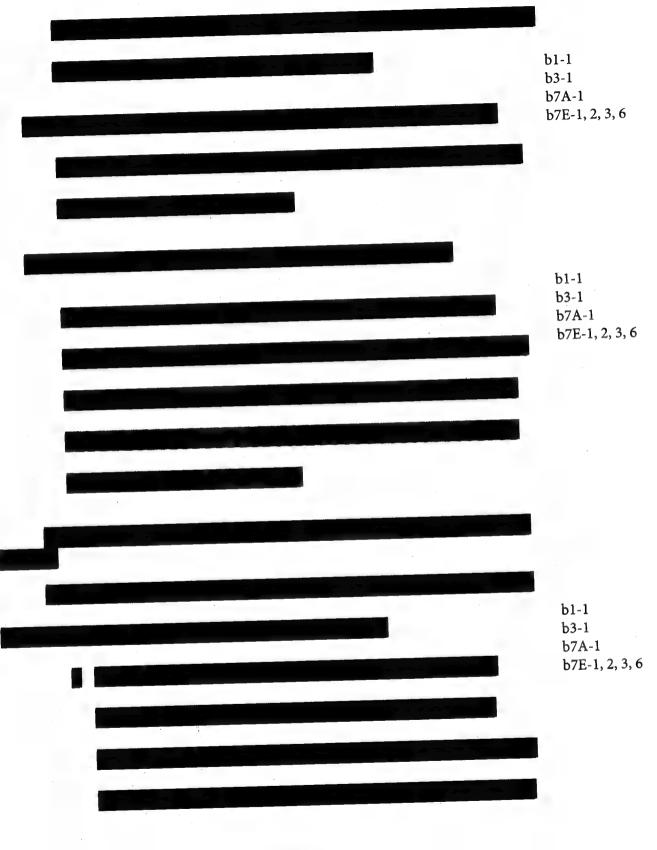




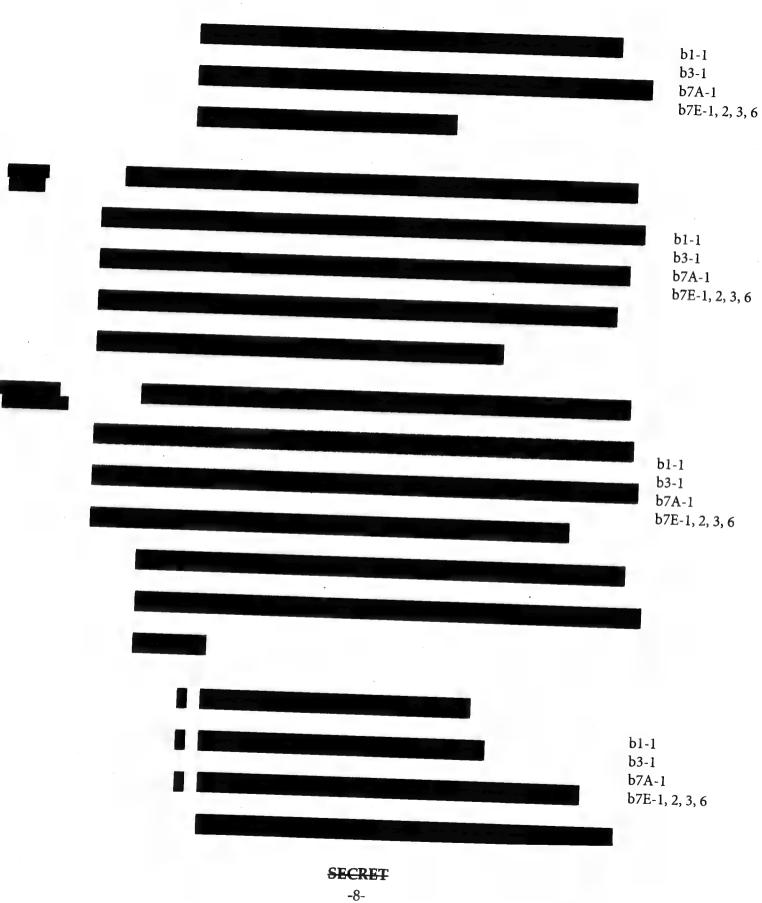
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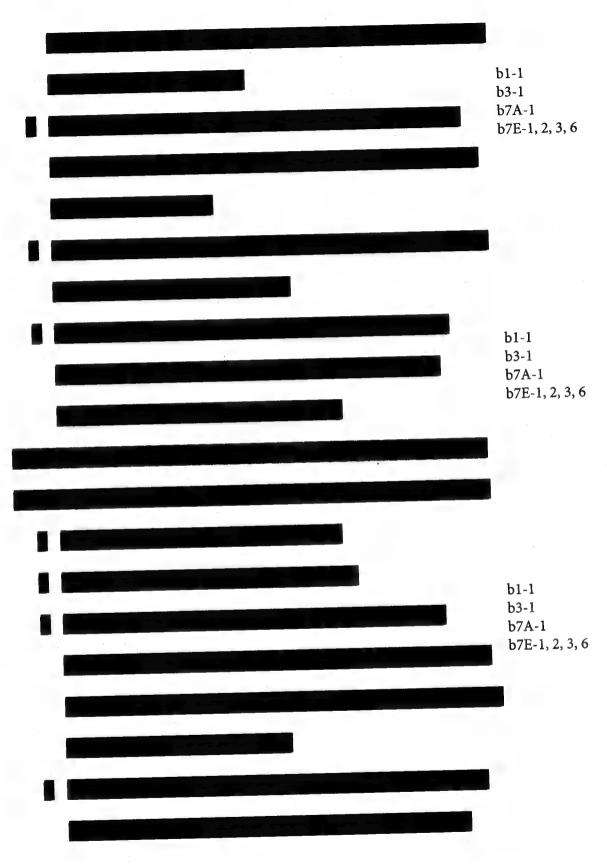






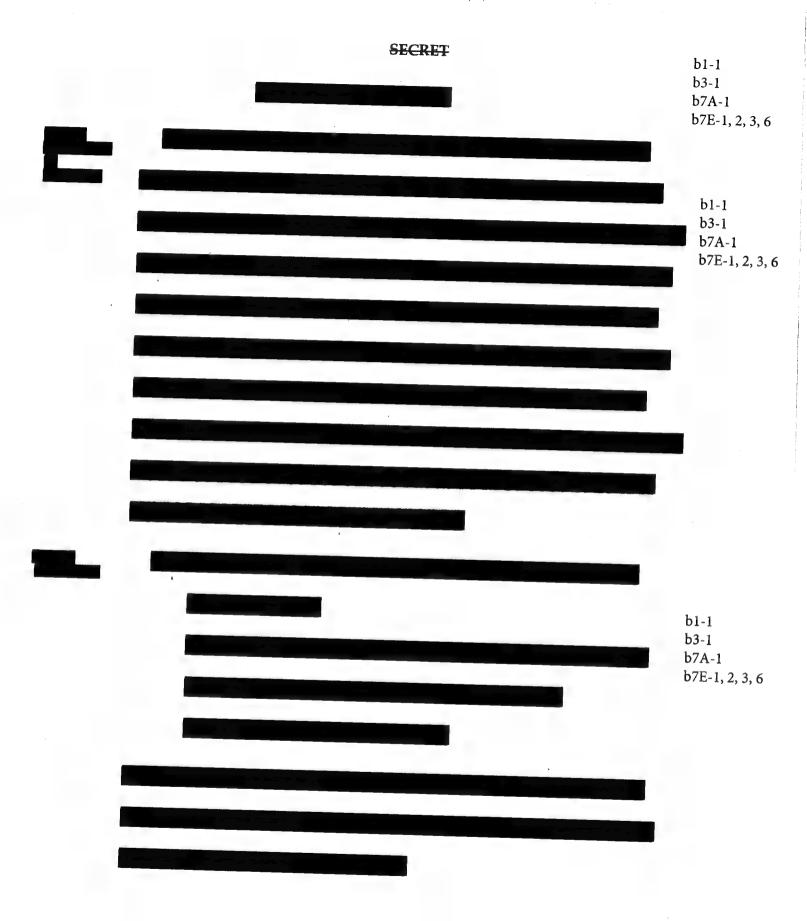


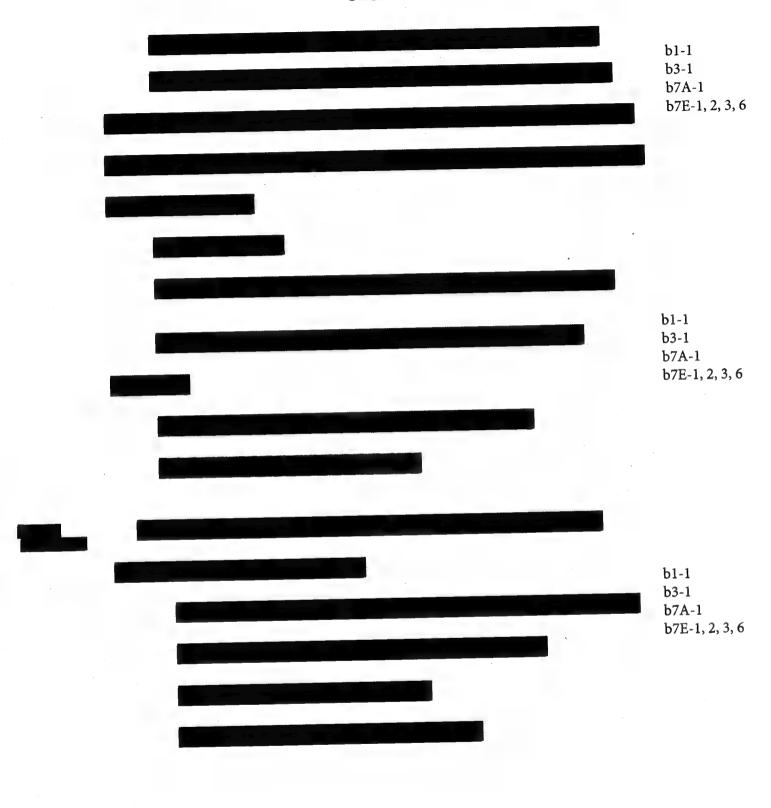


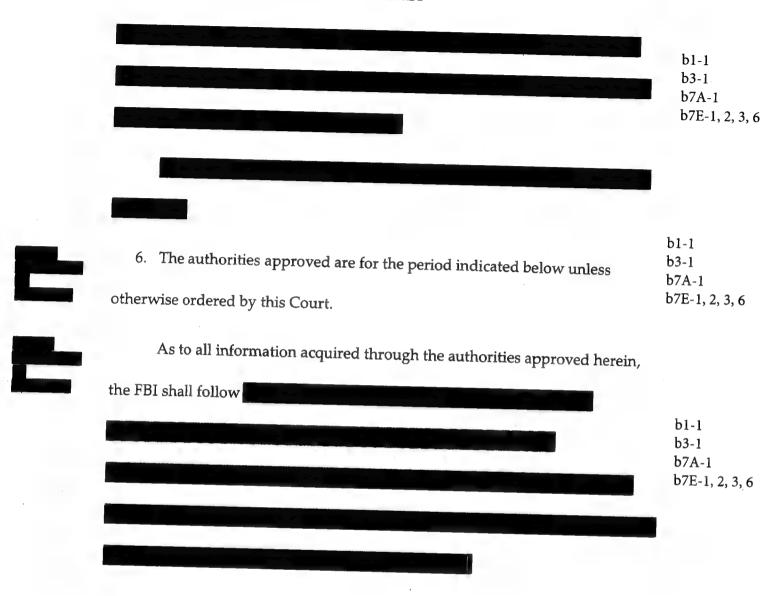


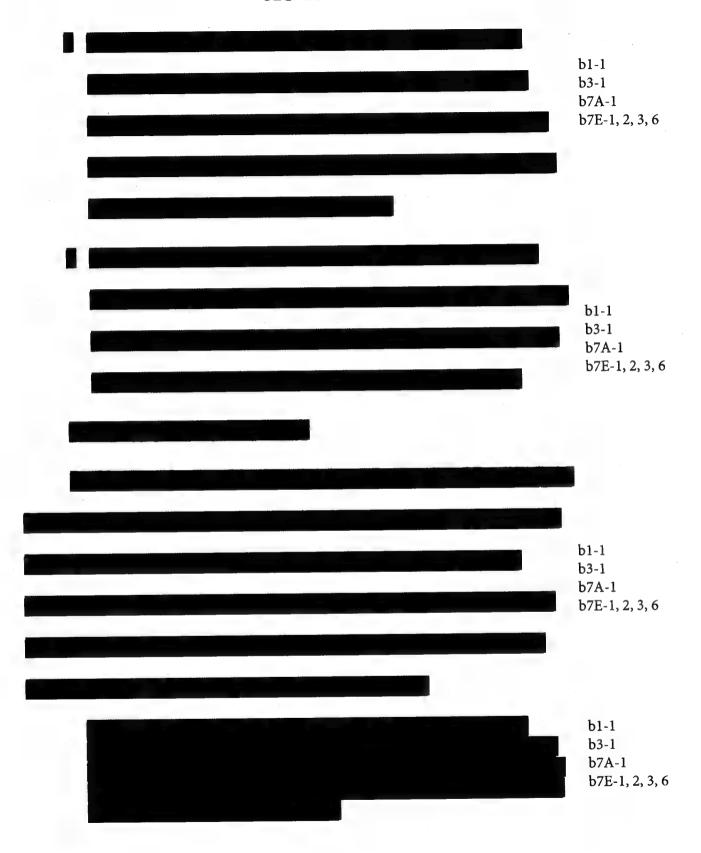
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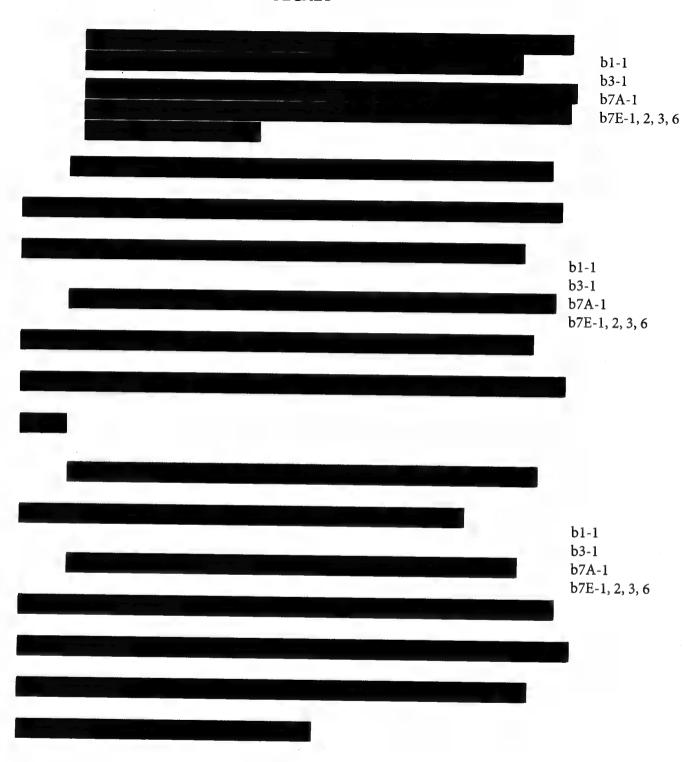


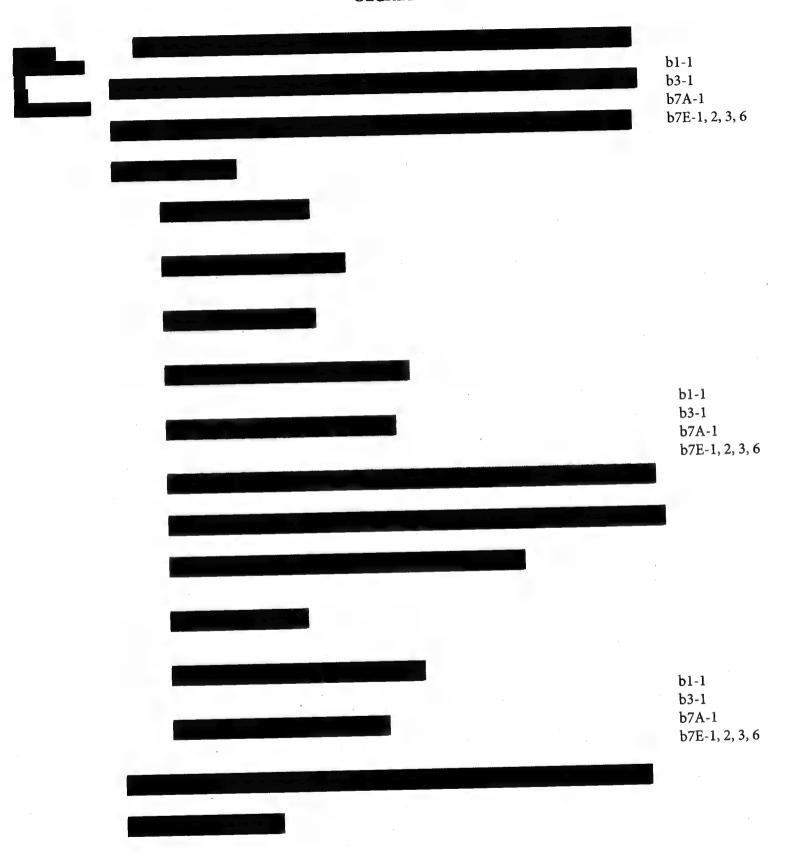


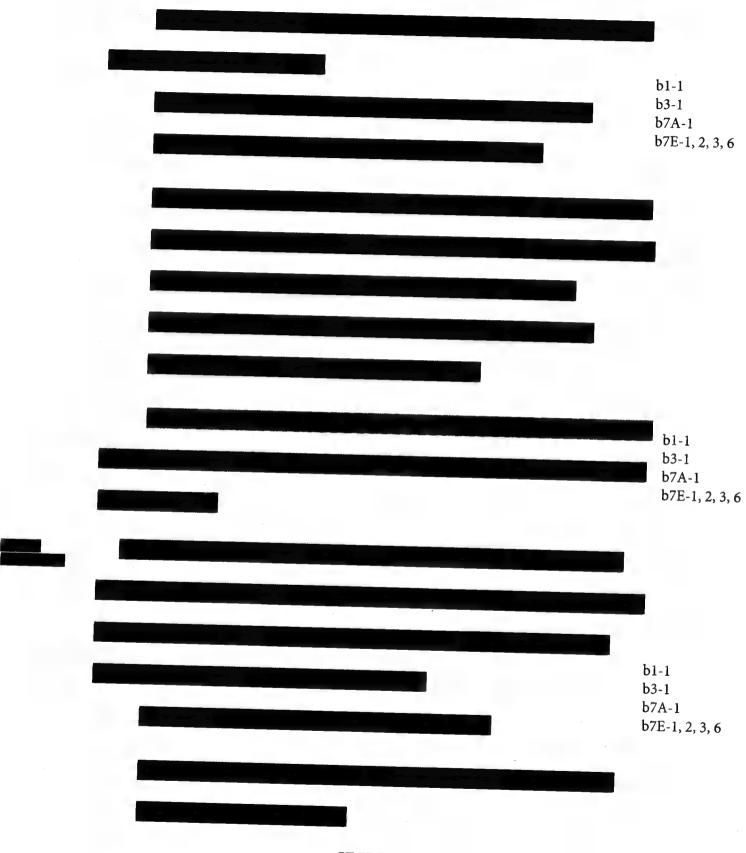


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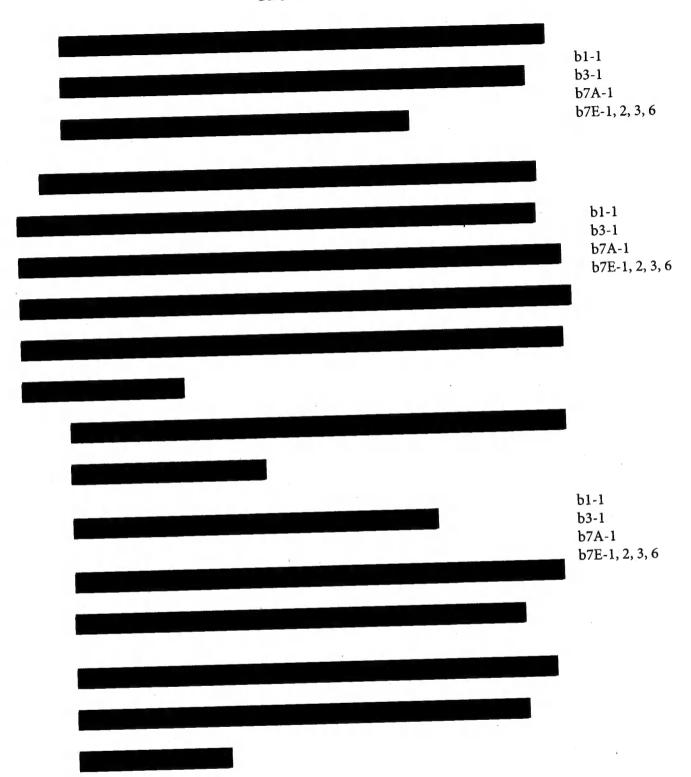


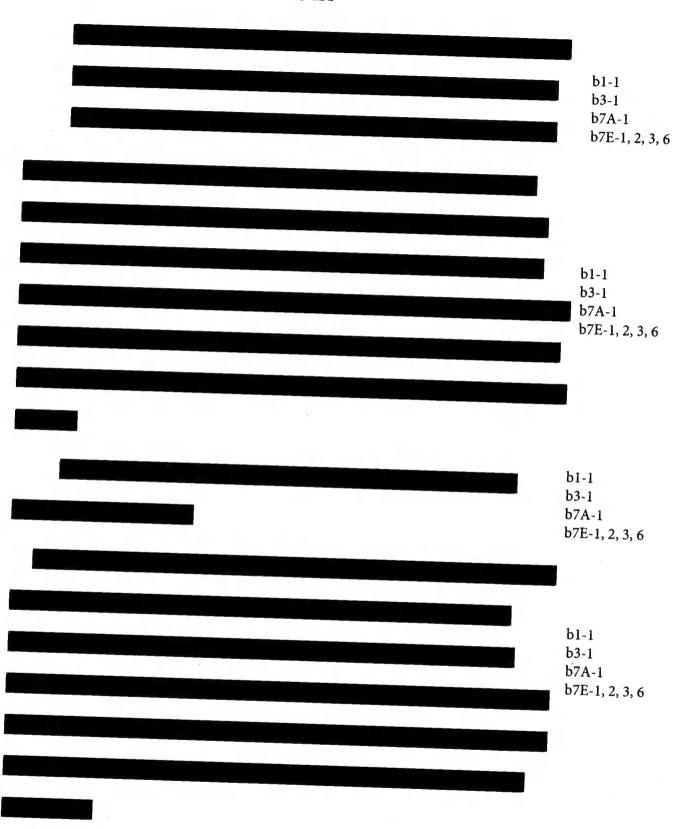


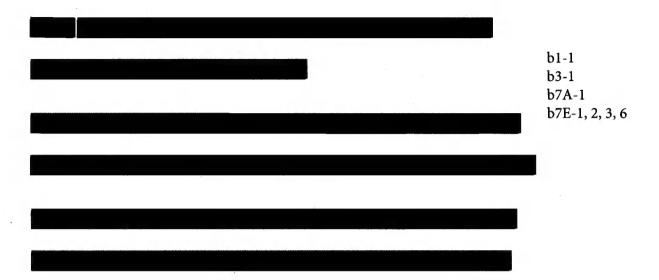


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This author	ization regarding Car	ter W. Page expires	s at Eastern Tin	ne
on the	day of Se	eptember, 2017.		b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1
Signed	06 Date	Time	Eastern Time	

RAYMOND J. DEARIE
Judge, United States Foreign
Intelligence Surveillance Court

FISC, certify that this apply of the is a true and correct copy of the origin

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